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THE

Life and Death

OF

THOMAS WOOLSEY,

CARDINAL;

Once Arch *Bishop* of *York*, and Lord Chancellour of *ENGLAND*.

CONTAINING,

1. The Original of his Promotion, and the way he took to obtain it.
2. The continuance in his Magnificence.
3. His Negotiations concerning the Peace with *France* and the *Netherlands*.
4. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Wherein are things Remarkable for these Times.

Written by one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman Usher. Cavendish

LONDON, Printed for *Dorman Newman*, and are to be sold at the Chyrurgeons Armes in *Little Britain*, near the Hospital Gate, 1667.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY, Lord Marquess

OF

Dorchester.

My Noble Lord;

TRue Nobility, and Learning, are the grand Accompliſhments which make Your Honour out-ſhine the moſt of your Degree in the Cynoſure of all Arts and Sciences, of which your Lordſhip is ſo great a Maſter and Patron, that you deſpiſe not the Addreſſes of the meaneſt Indeavours.

My Lord, I have now preſumed to Dedicate to your Lordſhip, the Life and Death, of that Famous Cardinal *Woolſey*, newly Reprinted; the ſubject whereof, takes in the moſt Remarkable Occurrences of thoſe times, not unworthy the peruſal of Ours, ſeeing it is no ſmall advantage future times reap from former Ages, and great Men from their Predeceſſors; for they may inform themſelves, what made them ſhine, to provoke their imitation; and what it was that clouded them, to Excite their caution.

My Lord, This Great Perſon was then looked upon, as the moſt able

able Pilot to ſteer things aright, both in Church and State, whilſt he was Imbarqued in thoſe two great Offices, of *Lord High Chancellour of England*, and *Arch-Biſhop of York*; and ſo equally did he ballance things in thoſe troubleſome times, that one obſerves of him, *That he never ſpake a word too much, and but one too little*; nor were his Succeſſes inconſiderable, in begetting a right Underſtanding between Forreigne Nations and Home; as in the *Netherlands*, ſo eſpecially in *France*, which he did with ſo much Amity, as if he would croſſe that pleaſant Proverb,

Kingdomes are never Married.

My Lord, Had this Cardinall been a man of no Conſcience, (as ſome would have it) his Honour might have been more laſting; though we have reaſon to believe his own words, (notwithſtanding his great Magnificence) had he been as faithfull to his Maker, as to his Maſter, he had not been Deſerted in his Old Age, when Fortune frowned on him; though indeed he Died rather neglected, then quite caſt off.

My Lord, Great Men are ſet in the World like Diamonds in a Ring, and the firſt thing the Vulgar

Vulgar look at, is to obſerve their flawes; which made them think, the Cardinalls Proſperity might have been more durable, had it been more moderate; but Rickets-like, growing too big in the Head, it infeebled its Supporters, yet not ſo much, as to make his Magnificence or Memory to be forgotten.

May it therefore pleaſe Your Honour to Countenance this New Edition, ſince the Old one hath ſurvived his greateſt Enemies, and now hath expired, *Phœnix*-like, to give place to this. I beg Your Lordſhips Par-

don for my bold Attempt, and diſturbing Your Serious Affairs: And that Your Lordſhip may long Live, to ſhine in our *Engliſh* Orb, is the Prayer of

Your Lordſhips moſt

Humble Servant,

N. D.

The Preface.

IT ſeemeth no Wiſdom to credit every light Tale, blazed about in the mouths of Vulgars, for we daily hear, how with their blaſphemous Trump, they ſpread abroad innumerable Lyes, without either ſhame or honeſty; which Prima Facie *ſheweth forth a Viſage of truth, as though it were an abſolute Verity, though indeed nothing leſs, and amongſt the better Sort, thoſe bablings are of no Validity.*

I have read the Allegations of divers worthy Authours, againſt ſuch falſe rumours and Opinions of the Common People, who delight in nothing more, then to hear Strange things, and to ſee New Alterations of Authority, rejoycing ſometimes in ſuch Novelties, which afterwards do produce Repentance. Thus

may

may all Men of Understanding, conceive the madnesse of the Rude Multitude, and not give too much credence to every sudden Rumour, untill the Truth be perfectly known, by the Report of some Approved and Credible Persons, that commonly have the best Intelligence.

I have heard, and also seen set forth in divers Printed Books, some untrue Imaginations, after the death of divers persons (who in their lives, were in great Estimation) invented rather to bring their honest Names in question, then otherwise.

Now forasmuch as I intend to write here some special Proceedings of Cardinal Woolsey, *the Great Arch-Bishop, his ascending unto Honour and Great Promotion, his Continuance in it, and sudden falling from the same; A great part whereof shall be of mine own knowledge, and some part from credible persons informations.*

This

This Cardinal was my Lord and Maſter, whom in his Life time I ſerved, and ſo remained with him in his Fall continually, during the time of all his Troubles, both in the South and North parts untill he dyed. In all which time, I punctually obſerved all his Demeanours, as alſo in his Great Triumph and Glorious Eſtate.

And ſince his departure, I have heard divers ſurmiſed and imagined Tales concerning his Proceedings and Dealings, which I my ſelf have certainly known to be moſt untrue; unto which I could have ſufficiently Anſwered according to Truth: but conceiving it to be much better to be ſilent, then to reply againſt their untruths, whereby I might perhaps have rather kindled a great flame of diſpleaſure, then have quenched one ſpark of their untrue Reports; therefore I did refer the truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the truth of all things.

Ne-

Nevertheleſſe, whatſoever any man hath conceived of him in his Life, or ſince his death, thus much I dare ſay without offence to any, that in my Judgement, I never ſaw this Realm in better Obedience and Quiet, then it was in the time of his Authority; nor Juſtice better Adminiſtred without partiality, as I could juſtly prove, if I ſhould not be taxed with too much Affection.

I will therefore here deſiſt to ſpeak any further by the way of Apologie, and proceed now to ſpeak of his Original, and aſcending through Fortunes favour to High Dignity and abundance of wealth.

An

AN ADVERTISEMENT To the Reader.

WHo pleaſeth to read this Hiſtory adviſedly, may well perceive the mutability of Honour, the tottering ſtate of Earthly Dignity, the deceit of flattering Friends, and the inſtability of Princes Favours.

This Great Cardinal having experience of all this, witneſs his fleeting from Honour, the loſſe of Friends, Riches and Dignities, being forgotten of his Prince, whilſt Fortune ſmiled; having ſatiety of all theſe; And She bending her brow, deprived him of all Terreſtrial Joyes, who by twenty years Study and Pains, had obtained ſo great Wealth and Dignity, and in leſs then one year loſt All.

And thus was his Honour laid in the duſt.

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Of

CHAP. I.

Of the Cardinal's Original, and who he was.

TRuth it is, Cardinal *Woolsey* was an honest poor mans Son in the town of *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolk*, and there born, who being but a Child, was very apt to learn, wherefore by means of his Parents, and other his good Friends, he was maintained at the University of *Oxford*, where in a short time he prospered so well, that in a small time (as he told me with his own mouth) he was made Batchelour of Arts, when he was but fifteen years of age, and was most commonly called the Boy Batchelour. Thus prospering in Learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, after that he was made Master of *Magdalen* School, at which time there were the Lord Marquesse of *Dorsets* Sons there at School, committing unto him, as well their Education, as their Instructions and Learning.

He was Batchelour of Arts at fifteen years of Age.

It pleased this Lord Marquess against *Christmas* to send as well for the School-master as for the Schollers home to his house, for their Recreation, in that Pleasant and Honourable Forrest. They being a while there, the Lord Marquess their Father perceiving them to be well improved in Learning for the time, He was so well contented, that he having a Benefice in his gift (being at that present void) gave the School-Master the same, in regard of his Diligence. After *Christmas*, at his departure to the University, and he having the Presentation thereof, repaired to the Ordinary for his Institution. And being then furnished with all his Instruments at the Ordinaries hands for his Preferment, made hast, without any further delay to his Benefice to take possession thereof. Now you shall understand, that the School-Master had not been long there, but one Sir *James Pawlet*, Knight, dwelling in the Country thereabouts, took an occasion of displeasure against him, but upon what ground I know not; Insomuch, that Sir *James* was so bold, as to set the School-Master by the heels during his displeasure, which affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven; For when the School-Master mounted so high, as to be Lord Chancellour of *England*, he was not forgetful of his old displeasure most cruelly ministred unto him by Sir *James*, but sent for him, and after a very sharp reproof, enjoyned him not to depart out of *London* without License first obtained, so that he continued in the *Middle Temple*, the space of five or six years, who afterwards lay in the *Gate-*

House

House next the Stayres, which he re-edified, and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the outside, with the Cardinals Armes, his Hat, his Cognizance and Badges, with other devises, in so glorious a manner, as he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

This may be a good president for men in Authority, which work their own wills without wit, to remember that greatness may decay. And those whom they do punish more of humour then Justice may afterwards be advanced to great Honour (as this Cardinal was) and they abased as low as this Sir *James* was, which seek Revenge. Who would have thought, that when Sir *James Pawlet* punished this poor Schoole-Master, that ever he should have Mounted to so great Dignity, as to be Chancellour of *England*, considering his mean Parentage and Friends. These be the wonderful works of Gods providence. And I would wish that all men in Authority would fear God in all Ages in the time of their Triumph and Greatnesse, considering that Advancement and Authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as Princes pleasures alter and change, or as all living Creatures must of necessity pay the debt due to Nature, which no earthly Creature can resist.

Shortly after it chanced the said Lord Marques dyed, after whose decease, the School-Master thinking himself but a weak beneficed man, and that he had left his Fellowship in the Colledge, for (as I understand) if a Fellow of that House be once promoted to a Benefice, he

ſhall by the rules of the ſame houſe be diſmiſſed of his Fellowſhip; and now being alſo deſtitute of his ſingular good Lord, as well as of his Fellowſhip, which was moſt of his Relief; though long to be provided of ſome other help to defend him from all ſuch ſtorms as he might meet with. In his travel thereabouts he grew acquainted with a very great and antient Knight, who had a great place in *Callis* under King *Henry* the ſeventh. This Knight he ſerved, and behaved himſelf ſo diſcreetly, that he obtained the ſpecial favour of his ſaid Maſter; Inſomuch, that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the care and charge of his ſaid Office to his ſaid Chaplain. And as I underſtand, his Office, was the Treaſurer-ſhip of *Callis*, who in regard of his great Age, ſhortly after was diſcharged of his ſaid Office, and ſo returned into *England*, intending to live a more private life. But through his induſtry labour and good favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the Kings Chaplain. And when he had once caſt Anchor in the Port of Promotion, how he then beſtirred himſelf, I ſhall now declare.

He having then juſt occaſion to be daily in ſight of the King in his Cloſet, not ſpending the reſt of the day in idleneſs, would attend thoſe men whom he thought to bear moſt Rule in the Councel, and were moſt in favour with the King, which at that time was Doctor *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Privy Seal; And alſo, Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, a very ſage and wiſe Counſellour, being Maſter of the Wards, and Conſtable of the Tower.

Theſe

These Antient and Grave Counsellours in process of time, perceiving this Chaplain to be a man of a very acute wit, thought him a meet Instrument to be imployed in greater Affairs.

Not long after, it happened that the King had an urgent occasion to send an Ambassadour to *Maximilian* the Emperour, who lay at that present in the Low Countries at *Flanders*, and not far from *Callis*.

Now the Bishop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, whom the King most Esteemed as the Chiefest of his Counsel, one day advising and debating with themselves upon this Ambassage; and by this time they saw they had a convenient occasion to prefer the Kings Chaplain, whose excellent Eloquence and Learning they highly commended unto the Kings Highnesse, who giving ear unto them, and being a Prince of an Excellent Judgement and Modesty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplain (whom they so commended) before his Grace; and being come, his Majesty (to prove his Ability) entered into Discourse with him, concerning matters of State, whereby the King had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a man of a sharp Wit, and of such excellent Parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in trust with matters of greater consequence.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

Of the Cardinal his speedy dispatch in his first Ambassage to the Emperour Maximilian.

THe King being now Resolved to Imploy him in this Ambassage, Commanded him thereupon to prepare himself for his Journey; and for his dispatch, wisht him to repair to his Grace and his Councel, of whom he should receive his Commission and Instruction. By means whereof he had then a fit occasion to repair from time to time into the Kings presence, who had thereby daily experience of his singular Wisdome and sound Judgement. Thus having his Dispatch, he took his leave of the King at *Richmond*, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, where he lancheth forth in *Graves-end* Barge with a prosperous wind and tide; and his happy speed was such, that he Arrived at *Graves-end*, in little more then three hours: where he tarried no longer then the Post-Horses were provided, and he Travelled so speedily, that he came to *Dover* the next morning, where the Passengers were under sail to passe to *Callis*; So that long before Noon he Arrived there; and having Post-Horses prepared, departed from thence without tarrying, making such hasty speed, that he was that night with the Emperour: who understanding of the Arrival of the King of *Englands* Am-

Ambaſſadour, would in no wiſe delay time, but ſent for him incontinently, for his Affection to the King of *England* was ſuch, that he was glad of any Opportunity to do him a Courteſie.

The Ambaſſadour declares the ſumme of his Embaſſie unto the Emperour, of whom he craved ſpeedy Expedition, which was granted him, ſo that the next day he was clearly diſpatched, and all the Kings Requeſts fully Accompliſhed and Granted. At which time he made no further ſtay, but took Poſt-Horſes that Night, and Rode without intermiſſion to *Callis*, being Conducted thither by divers Nobles appointed by the Emperour; and at the opening of the Gates of *Callis*, he came thither, where the Paſſengers were ready to return for *England*: Inſomuch that he arrived at *Dover* between Ten and Eleven of the Clock in the Fore-noon.

And having Poſt-Horſes in a readineſs, came to the Court at *Richmond* that ſame Night, where (taking his Repoſe until Morning) he preſented himſelf unto His Majeſty at his firſt coming out of his Bed-Chamber to his Cloſet to Maſs, whom when he ſaw he checked, for that he was not in his Journey.

Sir quoth he, If it may pleaſe your Highneſs, I have already been with the Emperour, and diſpatched your Affairs, I truſt to your Graces Contentation; and thereupon preſented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperour. The King wondering at his ſpeedy Return (he being ſo well furniſhed with all his Proceedings) for the preſent, diſſembled

his admiration and imagination in that matter, and demanding of him, whether he encountred with his Purſevant which he ſent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be ſcarce out of *London*, which concerned very material paſſages which were omitted in their Conſultation, which the King earneſtly deſired ſhould have been diſpatched in his Ambaſſage.

Yes forſooth (quoth he) I met with him yeſterday by the way, and though I had no knowledge thereof, yet notwithſtanding, I have been ſo bold (upon mine own diſcretion) perceiving the matter to be very neceſſary, in that behalf I diſpatched the ſame. And foraſmuch, as I have been ſo bold, to exceed my Commiſſion, I moſt humbly crave your Royal Remiſſion and Pardon.

The King inwardly rejoycing, replyed, We do not only pardon you, but give you our Princely thanks, both for your good exploit and happy expedition. And diſmiſſed him for that preſent, and bad him return to him again after dinner, for a further Relation of his Ambaſſage, and ſo the King went to Maſs.

It is not to be doubted, but this Ambaſſadour had all this while viſited his great Friends, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to whom he had declared the Effect of his Ambaſſage; and alſo His Majeſties Commendations of him, did not a little rejoyce the worthy Counſellours, foraſmuch as he was of their Preferment. And ſhortly after, the King gave him

him for his diligent Service, the Deanrie of *Lincoln*, which was in those dayes, one of the greatest Promotions that he gave under the degree of a Bishop. And grew more and more in Estimation and Authority, and was afterwards Promoted to be *Almoner*.

Now not long after, when Death (that favoureth no Estates, nor *King* nor *Kezar*) had taken away the wise King *Henry* the Seventh out of this present Life; It was a wonder to see what Practises and Devices were then used about the Young Prince *Henry* the Eighth; The great provision that was then made for the Funeral of the one, and for the Coronation of the other, by the now Queen *Katherine*, and Mother, after the Queens Highnesse that now is, whose vertuous Lue, Jesu long preserve.

After the Solemnizations, and costly Triumphs, our Natural, Young, Couragious, Lusty Prince, and Soveraign Lord, King *Henry* the Eighth, entering into his flower and lusty youth, took upon him the Royal Scepter, and Imperial Diadem of this fertile Nation, the two and twentieth of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1509. which at that time flourished with all Abundance of Riches, whereof the King was most Inestimably furnished, called then the golden World.

Now shortly after, the *Almoner* seeing he had a plain path-way to promotion, behaved himself so politickly, that he was made one of the Kings Privy Councel, and increased in Favour daily: to whom he gave a House at *Bride-*

well

well near *Fleet-street*, where he kept his House for his Family, and so he daily attended upon the King being in special Favour.

His Sentences in the Star-Chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that upon all Occasions, they assigned him for the fluent Eloquence of his Tongue, to be the Expositor to the King in all their Proceedings. In whom the King received so great Content, that he called him still nearer to his Person; and the rather, because he was ready to advance the Kings own Will and Pleasure, having no respect to the Case.

Now the King being Young, and much given to his Pleasure, his Old Counsellors Advised him to have Recourse sometimes to the Council about his Weighty Affairs; but the *Almoner* on the contrary, perswaded him to mind his Pleasure, and he would take his Care and Charge upon himself, (if his Majesty would Countenance him with his Authority) which the King liked well. And thus none was like to the *Almoner* in favour with the King.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's *Invading* France *in his own person, with the Cardinals Assistance.*

THus the Almoner *continuing in High Favour, till at last, many Presents, Gifts, and Rewards came in so plentifully, That I dare say, he wanted nothing, for he had all things in abundance, that might either please his Fancy, or Enrich his Coffers, for the Times so favourably smiled upon him, but to what End you shall hereafter hear: Therefore let all Men to whom Fortune extendeth her Favour and Grace, take heed they trust not her subtil and fair promises, for under colour thereof, she carrieth an Envious Gall; for when she seeth her Servant in Highest Authority, she turneth her Favour and Pleasant Countenance into Frowns.*

This Almoner *climbing up Fortunes wheele, that no man was in Estimation with the King, but onely he, for his witty qualities and wisedome.*

He had an especial gift of Natural Eloquence, and a filed Tongue to pronounce the same, that he was able therewith, to perswade and allure all men to his purposes, in the time of his continuance in Fortunes Favour.

He was naturally Eloquent.

In the Fifth Yeare of the Reign of King Henry *the Eight, it chanced, that the Realm*

King *Henry* in the fifth year of his Reign *Invaded France*

of England and France was at variance, but upon what ground or occasion, I know not; Insomuch, that the King was fully resolved in his own person to Invade France with a puissant Army; It was therefore thought very necessary, that his Royal Enterprises should be speedily provided and furnished in every degree, in things apt and convenient for the same; For expedition the King thought no mans wit so meet for Policy and painful Travel as the Almoner, to whom he committed his whole Affiance, and trust therein; And he being nothing scrupulous in any thing that the King would command, although it seemed very difficult, took upon him the whole charge of the Business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to Good Effect in direct order for all manner of Victuals and Provision convenient for so Noble a Voyage and Army.

The King relyeth upon the Almoners policy.

All things being thus prepared by him in order, the King not intending to neglect or delay any time but with Noble and Valiant Courage to advance his Royal Enterprize, passed the Seas between Dover and Callis, where he prosperously Arrived. And after he had there made his Arrival, and landed all his Provision and Munition, and sate in Consultation about his Weighty Affairs, marched forth in good order of Battel, till he came to the strong Town of Turwine, to the which he laid strong Siege, and made a sharp Assault, so that in short space it was yielded unto him, unto which place the Emperour Maximillian resorted unto him with a great Army like a mighty Prince, taking off the Kings Wages.

He besiegeth the strong Town of Turwine.

Thus after the King had taken this strong Town, and

and taken poſſeſſion thereof, and ſet all things in good Order, for the Defence and Preſervation thereof to his Majeſties uſe; then he retyred from thence, and marched towards Turney, *and there layed Siege in like manner, to which he gave ſo fierce Aſſault, that the Enemies were conſtrained to render the Town to His Majeſty. At which time, the King gave unto the* Almoner *the Biſhoprick of the ſame Sea towards his pains and diligence ſuſtained in that Journey. And when he had Eſtabliſhed all things according to his Princely mind and pleaſure, and furniſhed the ſame with Men and Captains of War for the Safe-guard of the Town, he prepared for his return to* England.

He beſiegeth the Town of *Turney.*

But now you ſhall underſtand by the way, that whilſt the King was abſent with a great power in France, *the* Scottiſh *King invaded* England, *againſt whom the Queen ſent a great Army, the Earle of* Surrey *being General, where he overthrew the* Scots *at* Balmſton *called* Hoddenfield, *where the King of* Scots *was ſlain, with divers of his Nobility, and Eighteen Thouſand Men, and they took all his Munition for War.*

The *Scots* in the Kings abſence invaded *England.*

By this time the King returned into England, *and took with him divers Noble Perſonages of* France *being Priſoners; As the Duke of* Longuido, *Viſcount* Clerimond, *with divers others that were taken in a Skirmiſh.*

And thus God gave him Victory at Home, and Victory abroad being in the fifth year of his Reign, Anno Dom. *One Thouſand Five Hundred and Thirteen.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The King promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellour of England.

THe King being returned into *England*, the See of *Lincoln* became void by the Death of Doctor *Smith* late Biſhop there, which Biſhoprick, the King gave to the Almoner Elect of *Turney*, who was not negligent to take Poſſeſſion thereof, but made all ſpeed for his Conſecration; the Solemnization thereof being ended, he found a way to get into his hands all his Predeceſſors Goods, whereof I have ſeen divers parts that Furniſhed his Houſe.

It was not long after, but Doctor *Bambridge* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, dyed at *Roban* in *France*, being there the Kings Ambaſſadour, unto which See, the King preſented the laſt new Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſo that he had three Biſhopricks in his hands at one time, all in one year given him. Then prepared he again for his Tranſlation from the See of *Lincolne*, to that of *York*, as he did before to his Inſtallation.

After which Solemnization done, and being then Arch-Biſhop and *Primas Angliæ*, thought himſelf ſufficient to compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his

his Croſſes in the Courts, and every other place, as well in the Precinct and Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other place; And foraſmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Biſhoprick within *England*, and for that cauſe claimeth an acknowledgement, as in antient Obedience of *York*, to abate Advancement of his Croſſes, to the Croſſes of *Canterbury*.

Notwithſtanding *York* not deſiſting to bear the ſame, although *Canterbury* gave *York* a check for the ſame, and told him, it was Preſumption, by reaſon whereof there ingendred ſome grudge between them; But ſhortly after he obtained to be made Cardinal, and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the Pope ſent the Cardinals Cap, and certain Bulls for his Authority in that behalf, whereupon he was Inſtalled at *Weſtminſter* in great Triumph, which was Executed by all Biſhops with their Mitres, Cappes, and other Ornaments: And after all this, he was made Chancellour of *England*, and *Canterbury* who was the Chancellour, was diſmiſſed.

Now he being in the Chancellourſhip, and endowed with the promotions of Arch-Biſhop, and Cardinal *de Latere*, thought himſelf ſo fully furniſhed, that he was now able to ſurmount *Canterbury* in all Juriſdictions; And in all Eccleſiaſtical Powers to Convocate *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops, and Spiritual Perſons to Aſſemble at his Convocations, where he would aſſign, and take upon him the Con-

Conversion of all Ministers, and others within their Jurisdictions, and visited all the Spiritual Houses, in their Diocesse, and all manner of Spiritual Ministers, as Commissioners, Scribes, Apparators, and all other necessary Officers to furnish his Courts, and did convent by convention, whom he pleased through this Realm and Dominion, and all other persons to the Glory of his Dignity. Then had he two great Crosses of Silver, whereof one was of his Arch-Bishoprick, and the other of his Legasie, born before him wheresoever he rode or went, by two of the tallest Priests that he could get in this Realm.

And to the increase of his Gaine, he had in his hand the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and St. *Albons* in Commendum; Also when Doctor *Fox*, Bishop of *Wincheſter* dyed, he did surrender *Durham* to the King, and took himself to *Wincheſter*. He had also, as it were in Farme, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, for the Incumbents of them were strangers. He had also attending upon him men of great Possessions, and the tallest Yeomen for his Guard in the Realm.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Orders and Offices of his Houſe and Chappel.

NOw firſt for his Houſe you ſhall underſtand, that he had in his Hall three Boards kept with three ſeverall Officers (that is to ſay) a Steward, that was alwayes a Prieſt; a Treaſurer, that was ever a Knight; and a Controller that was an Eſquire: Alſo a Confeſſer, a Doctor; Three Marſhalls, three Uſhers in the Hall, beſides two Almoners and Groomes.

Then had he in the Hall-Kitchin two Clarkes, a Clark Comptroller, and a Surveyor over the Dreſſer; a Clark in the Spycerie, which kept continually a Meſſe together in the Hall; Alſo he had in the Hall-Kitchin two Cookes, and Labourers, and Children, twelve perſons; Four Men of the Scullery, two Yeomen of the Paſtry, with two other Paſt-layers under the Yeomen.

Then had he in his Kitchin, a Maſter Cook, who went daily in Velvet or Sattin, with a gold chain, beſides two other Cooks, and ſix Laboürers in the ſame Room.

In the Larder, one Yeoman and a Groome; In the Scullery, one Yeoman and two Groomes; In the Buttery two Yeomen and two Groomes;

In the Ewry so many; In the Sellar, three Yeomen, three Pages; in the Chandery, two Yeomen; In the Wayfary, two Yeoman; In the Wardrop of Beds, the Master of the Wardrop, and twenty persons besides; In the Laundery, a Yeoman and a Groome, and thirteene Pages, two Yeomen Purveyours, and a Groome-Purveyor; In the Bake-House, two Yeomen and Groomes; In the Wood-yard, one Yeoman and a Groome; In the Barn, one Yeoman; Porters at the Gate, two Yeomen, and two Groomes; A Yeoman in his Barge, and a Master of his Horse; a Clark of the Stables, and a Yeoman of the same; a Farrier, and a Yeoman of the Stirrop; a Maltlour and sixteen Groomes, every one of them keeping four Geldings.

The Officers of his Chappel.

Now will I declare unto you the Officers of his Chappel and singing-men of the same. First, he had there a Dean, a great Divine, and a man of excellent Learning, and a Sub-Dean, a Repeatour of the Quire, a Gospeller, an Epistoler of the singing Priests, a Master of the Children; In the Vestry, a Yeoman, and two Grooms, besides other Retainers that came thither at Principal Feasts.

And for the furniture of his Chappel, it passeth my weak capacity, to declare the number of the costly Ornaments, and rich Jewells that were occupied in the same; For I have seen in procession about the Hall, forty four rich Copes of one settle worne, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary

neceſſary Ornaments to the furniture of the ſame.

Now you ſhall underſtand, that he had two Croſſe-bearers, and two Pillar-bearers in his great Chamber, and his Privy Chamber, all theſe Perſons; The Chief Chamberlaine, a Vice-Chamberlaine, a Gentleman Uſher, beſide one of his privy Chamber; He had alſo twelve Wayters, and ſix Gentlemen Wayters; Alſo he had Nine or Ten Lords, who had each of them two or three men to wait upon him, except the Earle of *Darby*, who had five Men. Officers in his privy Chamber.

Then he had Gentlemen-Cup-bearers, and Carvers, and one of the Sewers, both of the great Chamber, and of the privy Chamber forty perſons; Six yeoman Uſhers, eight Groomes of his Chamber; Alſo he had of Almes, who were daily Wayters of his Board at Dinner; Twelve Doctors and Chaplains, beſides them of his, which I never rehearſed; a Clark of his Cloſet, and two Secrearies, and two Clarks of his Signet; Four Councellours learned in the Law.

And for that he was Chancellour of *England*, it was neceſſary to have Officers of the Chancery to attend him for the better furniture of the ſame.

Firſt, he had a Riding Clark, a Clark of the Crown, a Clark of the Hamper, a Chafer; then had he a Clark of the Checke, as well upon the Chaplaines, as upon the yeomen of the Chamber; He had alſo foure Foot-men garniſhed with rich running

Coates, whenſoever he had any Journey. Then he had a Herauld of Armes, a Serjeant of Armes; a Phyſitian, an Apothecary; Four Minſtrells, a keeper of his Tents, an Armourer; An Inſtructor of his Wardrop of Roabes, a Keeper of his Chamber continually; He had alſo in his Houſe a Surveyor of *York*, a Clark of the Green-Cloath. All theſe were daily attending down-lying and up-riſing. And at meat, he had Eight continual Boards for the Chamberlaines and Gentlemen Officers, having a Meaſe of young Lords, and another of Gentlemen; Beſides this, there was never a Gentleman or Officer, or other Worthy Perſon, but he kept ſome two, ſome three perſons to wait upon them; And all others at the leaſt had one, which did amount to a great number of perſons.

Now having declared the Order, according to the Cheyne Roll of his Houſe, and what Officers he had daily attending to furniſh the ſame, beſides Retainers, and other perſons being Suitors dined in the Hall. And when ſhall we ſee any more ſuch Subjects that ſhall keep ſuch a Noble Houſe; Therefore here is an end of his Houſe-hold, the number of perſons in the Cheyne were Eight Hundred perſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of his Second Embaſſage to the Emperour Charles *the Fifth.*

WHen he was thus furniſhed in manner as I have before rehearſed unto you; He was ſent twice on Embaſſage to the Emperour, *Charles* the Fifth, that now Reigneth, and Father to King *Philip* now, our Lord and Soveraign; Foraſmuch as the Old Emperour *Maximilian* was dead, and for divers other urgent Occaſions touching his Majeſty; It was thought fit, that about ſuch weighty matters, and to ſo Noble a Prince, the Cardinal was moſt meet to be ſent on this Embaſſage, and he being one ready to take the charge thereof upon him, was furniſhed in every reſpect moſt like a Great Prince, which was much to the Honour of His Majeſty, and of this Realm; For firſt, he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all things correſpondent, his Gentlemen being very many in number were cloathed in Livery Coats of Crimſon Velvet of the beſt, and chains of Gold about their necks; And his Yeomen, and all his mean Officers were clad in fine Scarler, guarded with black Velvet one hand breadth. Thus furniſhed, he was twice ſent in this manner to the Emperour in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bridges*, whom he did moſt Nobly Enter-

tain, discharging all his own Charges, and his mens. There was no house in the Town of *Bridges*, wherein any one of my Lords Gentlemen were lodged, or had recourse, but that the owners of the houses were commanded by the Emperours Officers, upon the pain of their Lives to take no money for any thing that the Cardinals men did take of any kind of Victuals; No, although they were disposed to make costly Banquets; further commanding their said Hosts that they should want nothing which they honesty required, or desired to have.

Also the Emperours Officers every night went through the Town from house to house, where any English men had recourse, or lodged, and served their Livery for all night, which was done on this manner. First, the Officers brought into the house of *Casteele* of fine Manchet, then two silver pots of Wine, and a pound of Sugar, white lights, and yellow lights, a Bowl of Silver, and a Goblet to drink in, and every night a staffe Torch. This was their order of their Livery every night; And in the the morning when the Officers came to fetch away their stuff, they would account for the Gentlemens costs the day before.

Thus the Emperour entertained the Cardinal, and his Train, during the time of his Embassie. And that done, he returned into *England* with great Triumph, being no lesse in Estimation with the King then he was before, but rather much more, for he encreased daily in the Kings Favour, by reason of wits and readinesse

dineſſe to do the King pleaſure in all things.

In the One and Twentieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1529. This Emperour *Charles* the Fifth came into *England*, who was Nobly Entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the manner of his going to Weſtminſter Hall.

NOw muſt I declare the manner of his going to *Weſtminſter* Hall in the Terme time. Firſt, when he came out of his Privy Chamber, he moſt commonly heard two Maſſes in his Chappel or Chamber. And I heard one of his Chaplains ſay ſince (that was a man of credit, and excellent Learning) that what buſineſſe ſoever the Cardinal had in the day time, that he never went to bed with any part of his Service unſaid; no, not ſo much as one Collect, in which I think he deceived many a man: Then going into his Chamber again, he demanded of ſome of his Servants, if they were in readineſſe, and had furniſhed his Chamber of Preſence, and waiting Chamber: he being then advertiſed, came out of his Privy Chamber about eight of the clock, ready apparalled, and in Red like a Cardinal, his upper veſture was all of Scarlet, or elſe of fine Crimſon Taffata, or Crimſon Sattin ingrained, his Pillion of Scarlet, with a black Velvet tip-

pet of Sables about his neck, holding in his hand an Orenge, the meat or substance thereof being taken out and filled again with a part of Spunges with Vineger, and other confections against pestilent Ayres, the which he most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when he was pestred with many Suitors; And before him was born the broad Seal of *England*, and the Cardinals Hat, by some Lord, or some Gentleman of worship right solemnly; And as soon as he was entered into his Chamber of Presence, where there were daily attending on him, as well Noble men of this Realm, as other worthy Gentlemen of his own Family, his two great Crosses were there attending upon him; then cry the Gentlemen Ushers that go before him bare-headed, *On Masters before, and make room for my Lord.* Thus went he down into the Hall, with a Serjeant of Armes before him, bearing a great Mace of Silver, and two Gentlemen carrying two great Plates of Silver; And when he came to the Hall door, there his Mule stood trapped all in crimson Velvet, with a Saddle of the same.

Then was attending him, when he was mounted, his two Cross-bearers, his two Pillow-bearers, all upon great horses, all in fine Scarlet; then he marched on with a train of Gentry, having four Foot-men about him, bearing every one of them a Pole-ax in his hand; And thus passed he forth till he came to *Westminster*, and there alighted and went in this manner up to the Chancery, and stayed awhile at a Bar, made for him beneath the Chancery, and there he communed some-

sometimes with Judges, and sometimes with other persons, and then went up to the Chancery, and sate there till eleven of the clock, to hear suites, and to determine causes; And from thence he would go into the Star-Chamber as occasion served him; he neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according unto right.

Every Sunday he would resort to the Court being at *Greenwich*, with his former rehearsed train and triumph, taking his Barge at his own staires, furnished with yeomen standing upon the sayles, and his Gentlemen within and about, and landed at the three Cranes in the Vine-tree, and from thence he rode upon his Mule with his Crosses, his Pillars, his Hat, and his broad Seal carried before him on horse-back along *Thames street*, until he came to *Billingsgate*, and there he took his Barge, and so went to *Greenwich*, where he was Nobly entertained of the Lords in the Kings house, being there with staves in their hands, as the Treasurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the Kings Chamber, and so went home again in the like Triumph.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinals Magnificence in his House.

HE lived a long season, ruling all things in this Realm appertaining to the King by his wisdome, and all other matters of forreign Regions, with whom the King had any occasion to meddle. All Ambassadeurs of forreign Potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinals wise-

dom

dom to whom they had continual access for their dispatch.

Great resort to his house as to the King.

His house was always resorted unto like a Kings house, with Noblemen and Gentlemen; And when it pleased the Kings Majesty (as many times it did) he would for his recreation resort unto the Cardinals house, against whose coming there wanted no preparation of goodly furnitures, with victuals of the finest sort could be had for money or friendship.

His entertainment of the King in a Masque.

Such pleasures were here devised for the Kings delight, as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mummers, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold, there wanted no Damsels meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the place for the time, with variety of other pastimes. Then was there divers kinds of Musick, and many choice men and women-singers appointed to sing, which had excellent voices. I have seen the King come suddenly thither in a Masque, with a dozen Masquers all in garments like Shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and silver wire, and six torch-bearers, besides their drummars, and others attending on them with Vizards, and clothed all in Sattin. And before his entring into the Hall, you shall understand, that he came by water up to the water-gate without any noise, where were laid divers Chambers and Guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling noise in the Air, that it was like thunder; It made all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladies to muse, what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a Ban-

a Banquet. In this sort you shall understand, that the Tables were set in the Chamber of Presence covered, and my Lord Cardinal sitting under his cloth of State, and there having all his Service alone; And then was there set a Lady and a Nobleman, a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, throughout all the Tables in the Chambers on the one side, which were made all joyning as it were, but one Table. All which order was done by my Lord *Sands*, then Lord Chamberlain to the King, and by Sir *Henry Guilford*, then Comptroller of the Kings house.

Then immediately after this great shot of guns, the Cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter; They then looked out of the window into the *Thames*, and returning again, told him, that they thought they were Noblemen and strangers arrived at the Bridge, and coming as Ambassadours from some forreign Prince; With that said the Cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak *French*, to take the pains to go into the Hall, there to receive them into the Chamber, where they shall see us, and all those Noble Personages being merry at our Banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and take part of our fare

Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they were received with twenty Torches, and conveyed up into the Chamber, with such a number of Drums and Flutes, as I have seldome seen together at one time and place. The King and his Company conducted into the Chamber.

Then at their Arrival into the Chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinal where he sate, and saluted them very reverently;

reverently; To whom the Lord Chamberlain for them said; Sir, forasmuch as they are strangers, and cannot speak *English*, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant Banquet, were assembled such a number of fair Dames, they could do no less (under the supportation of your Grace) then to view as well their incomparable beauties, as to accompany them to the Mumchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better acquaintance.

And furthermore they require of your Grace, licence to accomplish this cause of their coming.

When the Cardinal said he was willing, and very well content they should do so.

The Masquers salute the Ladies.

Then went the Masquers, and first saluted all the Dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened the great Cup of Gold filled with Crowns, and other pieces to cast at.

Thus perusing all the Gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And having viewed all the Ladies, they returned to the Cardinall with great Reverence, pouring down all their Gold, which was above two hundred crowns. At all quoth the Cardinal, and casting the Dye he won it, whereat was made great joy.

The Cardinal casts at two hundred crowns.

Then quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain; I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a Noble Man amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this place then I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knew him.

Then

Then ſpake my Lord Chamberlain to them in *French*, declaring my Lord Cardinals words, and they rounding him again in the ear, the Lord Chamberlain ſaid unto my Lord Cardinal:

Sir (quoth he) they confeſſe that among them is ſuch a Noble Perſonage, whom if your Grace can point out from the reſt, he is contented to diſcloſe himſelf, and to accept of your place moſt willingly.

With that the Cardinal taking good advice, went amongſt them, and at the laſt (quoth he) it ſeemeth to me, that the Gentleman with the black beard ſhould be he, and with that he roſe out of his Chair, and offered the ſame to the Gentleman with the black beard, with the cup in his hand; But the Cardinal was miſtaken, for the perſon to whom he then offered his Chair, was Sir *Edward Nevil*, a comly Knight, and of a goodly perſonage, who did more reſemble His Majeſties perſon, then any other in that Maſque. The Cardinal miſtaken.

The King ſeeing the Cardinal ſo deceived in his choyce, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevils* alſo, with ſuch a pleaſant countenance and cheer, that all the Noble Eſtates, deſired his Highneſſe to take his Place; To whom the King made Anſwer, That he would firſt go and ſhift him; And thereupon went into the Cardinalls Bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for Him, and there He new Apparrelled himſelf with Rich and Princely Garments; And in the Kings abſence, the diſhes of the Banquet was clean taken away, and the Tables covered again with new and perfumed The Tables furniſhed again with a new Banquet.

fumed cloaths, every man sitting still untill the Kings Majesty with his Masquers came in among them, every man new apparrelled.

Then the King took his Seat under the cloth of Estate, commanding every person to sit still as they did before; And then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty of two hundred dishes, and so they passed the night in Banqueting, and dancing untill morning, which much rejoyced the Cardinal to see his Soveraign Lord so pleasant at his house.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Original Instrument of the Cardinals fall, Mistris Anne Bullen.

NOw you shall understand, that the Young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinal, who when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have Conference with Mistris *Anne Bullen*, who then was one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*, insomuch that at last they were contracted together, which when the King heard, he was much moved thereat (for he had a private affection to her himself) which was not yet discovered to any; and then advised the Cardinal to send for the Earle of *Northumberland*, his Father, and take order to dissolve the Contract made between the said parties, which the Lord Cardinal did, after a sharp reprehension, in regard he was contracted without the King and his Fathers knowledge; He sent for his Father, who came up to

Lon-

London very speedily, and came first to my Lord Cardinal, as all great personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertised of the cause of their sending for; And when the Earle was come, he was presently brought to the Cardinal into the Gallery. After whose meeting, my Lord Cardinal and he were in secret communication a long space; after their long discourse, and drinking a cup of wine, the Earle departed, and at his going away, he sate down at the Gallery end in the Hall upon a form, and being set, called his Son unto him, and said;

The Earle came to the Cardinal.

Son (quoth he) *even as thou art, and ever hast been a proud, disdainful, and very unthrifty Master, so thou hast now declared thy self; wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive in thee? That thus without discretion hast abused thy self, having neither regard to me thy Natural Father, nor unto thy Natural Soveraign Lord, to whom all honest and loyal Subjects bear faithfull Obedience, nor yet to the Prosperity of thine owne Estate; But hast so unadvisedly ensnared thy self to her, for whom thou hast purchased the Kings high displeasure intollerable for any Subject to sustain. And but that the King doth consider the lightness of thy Head, and wilfull qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my posterity into utter ruine and destruction. But he being my singular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinall my very good Friend, hath, and doth clearly excuse me in thy Lewdness, and do rather lament thy folly, then maligne thee, and hath advised an order to be taken*

His sharp reproof of his Son.

taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, then we conceive of. I pray to God, that this may be a sufficient Admonition unto thee, to use thy self more wisely hereafter; For assure thy self, that if thou dost not amend thy Prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earle of our House; For thy Natural Inclination, thou art Masterfull and Prodigal; to consume all that thy Progenitors have with great Travel gathered and kept together with Honour. But having the Kings Majesty, my singular good Lord, I trust (I assure thee) so to order my Succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

The Earle doth intend to dis-inherit him.

For I do not intend (I tell thee) truly to make thee Heir, for (thanks be to God) I have more Boyes, that I trust will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest men, of whom I will choose the most likely to Succeed me.

He speaks to the Servants.

Now good Masters and Gentlemen (quoth he) *unto us, it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those things that I have spoken to my Son, prove as true as I now speak them; yet in the mean time, I desire you all to be his Friends, and tell him his faults, in what he doth amisse, wherein you shall shew your selves friendly to him; and so I take my leave of you: And Son, go your wayes unto my Lord your Master, and serve him diligently;* And so parted, and went down into the Hall, and so took his Barge.

He goes to the King.

Then after long and large debating the matter about the Lord *Piercies* assurance to Mistris *Anne Bullen*, it was devised, that the Contract should be infringed, and dissolved, and that the

the Lord *Piercy* should marry one of the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Daughters. And so indeed not long after he did, whereby the former contract was broken and dissolved, wherewith Mistrisse *Anne* was greatly displeased, promising, that if ever it lay in her power, she would do the Cardinal some displeasure, which she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing but what the King commanded; whereby the Lord *Piercy* was charged to avoyd her company. And so was she for a time discharged the Court, and sent home to her father, whereat she was much troubled and perplexed. For all this time she knew nothing of the Kings intended purpose, But we may see when Fortune doth begin to frowne, how she can compasse a matter of displeasure through a far fetch mark; now therefore of the grudge how it began that in process of time wrought the Cardinals utter destruction.

The Contract between Lord *Piercy* and Mrs. *Anne Bullen* dissolved.

She much displeased there at.

She is discharged the Court.

CHAP. X.

Of Mistriss Anne Bullen *her favour with the King.*

O H Lord, what a great God art thou, that workest thy wonders so secretly, that they are not perceived, until they be brought to pass and finished.

Attend now good Reader to this story follow-

ing, and note every circumſtance, and thou ſhalt at the end perceive a wonderful work of God againſt ſuch as forget him and his benefits.

Her admittance again to Court.

Therefore I ſay, conſider after this my Lord *Piercies* troubleſome buſineſs was over, and all things brought to an end; Then Miſtriſs *Anne Bullen* was again admitted to the Court, where ſhe flouriſhed in great eſtimation and favour, having alwayes a prime grudg againſt my Lord Cardinal for breaking the contract between the Lord *Piercy* and her ſelf, ſuppoſing it had been his own deviſe and no others. And ſhe at laſt knowing the Kings pleaſure, and the depth of his ſecrets, then began to look very haughtily and ſtour, lacking no manner of rich apparel or Jewels that money could purchaſe.

It was therefore imagined by many through the Court, that ſhe being in ſuch favour, might do much with the King, and obtain any ſuit of him for her friends. All this while being in this eſtimation in all places, there was no doubt but good Queen *Katharine*, having this Gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by report, and ſaw with her eyes how all things tended againſt her good Ladiſhip, although ſhe ſeemed neither to Miſtriſs *Anne Bullen*, nor the King, to carry any ſpark of diſcontent, or diſpleaſure, but accepted all things in good part, and with great wiſdome, and much patience, diſſembled the ſame, having Miſtriſſe *Anne Bullen* in more eſtimation for the Kings ſak-, then when ſhe was with her before, declaring her ſelf indeed to be a very patient *Griſſel*, as by her long patience in all her

Queen *Katherine* her Patience.

her troubles shall hereafter more plainly appear.

For the King was now so enamoured of this young Gentlewoman, that he knew not how sufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great Lords of the Court, who bore a secret grudg against my Lord Cardinal; for that they could not rule in the Kingdome as they would for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, and rul'd as well the great Lords, as the mean Subjects; whereat they took an occasion to work him out of the Kings favour, and consequently themselves into more estimation.

A Plot of the Nobility against the Cardinal.

And after long and secret consultation with themselves how to bring this matter to passe; They knew very well that it was somwhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves; Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love the King bare to Mistris *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their judgments, that she would be a fit instrument to bring their earnest intentions to passe, therefore they often consulted with her to that purpose, and she having both a very good wit, and also an inward grudg and displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their desires, as they were themselves, wherefore there was no more to doe but only to imagine an occasion to work their malice by some pretended Circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers devises how to effect their purpose; but the enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that though they would faine have attemp-

ted the matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great zeal the King did bear unto the Cardinal, and this they knew very well, that is the matter they should propound against him was not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the Kings love was such towards him, and his wit such withal, that he could with his policy vanquish all their enterprizes, and then after that requite them in the like nature, to their utter ruine.

Therefore they were compelled to forbear their plots, till they might have some better ground to work upon. And now the Cardinal seeing the great zeal the King bore to this Gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the King. To that end therefore he prepares great Banquets and Feasts to entertain the King and her at his own house; She all this while dissembling the secret grudge in her breast. Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful inventions, not heard of before in *England*, and the love between this glorious Lady and the King, grew to such perfection, that divers things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speake, untill I come to the proper place.

The Cardinal endeavours to get her favour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Variance between the French King and the Duke of Burbon, who fled to the City of Pavia, where the King besieged him.

THen began a certain grudge between the French King, and the Duke of Burbon, to break out; Insomuch that the Duke being now at variance with the house of France, was compelled for safe-guard of his life to fly, and forsake his Country, fearing the Kings malice and indignation.

A plot of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal having intelligence hereof, contrived that the King our Soveraign Lord should obtain the Duke to be his General in his Wars against the French King, with whom our King had then an occasion to war, and the rather, because the Duke of Burbon was fled to the Emperour to invite him unto a like purpose, where he moved the King in this matter. And after the King was advised thereof, and conceived the Cardinalls Invention, he mused more and more of this matter, until it came into a Consultation amongst the Counsel, so that it was concluded that an Ambassadour should be sent to the Emperour about this matter; And it was further concluded, that the King and Emperour should joyne in these Wars

The Duke of Burbon fled to the Emperour.

King *Henry* joyneth his forces with the Emperour against the French King. The Duke the King of *Englands* Generall.

against the French King, and that the Duke of Burbon *should be the King of* Englands *Champion, and General in the field, who had a number of good Souldiers over and besides the Emperours Army, which was not small, and that the King should pay the Duke monthly wages for himself and his retinue.*

For which purpose John Russell, *who was afterwards created Earle of* Bedford *lay continually beyond the Seas in a secret place, both to receive mony from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke, so that the Duke began the wars with the French King in his own Territories and Dukedom which the King had gotten into his own hands, being not perfectly known to the Dukes enemies, that he had any aid from our Soveraign Lord, and thus he wrought the French King much displeasure, in asmuch that the French King was constrained to prepare a present Army, and in his own person to resist the Dukes power. And battel being joyned, the King drove him to take* Pavia, *a strong Town in* Italy, *with his hoast of men for his security, where the King entamped himself wonderfully strong, intending to close the Duke within the Town, lest he should issue out, and skirmish with him.*

The French King in person with an Army.

The Duke flies to *Pavia*, and is there besieged by the French King.

The French Ambassadour treats of peace with *Englands*.

The French King in his Campe sent secretly into England *a private person (being a very witty man) to treat of a Peace between his Master, and our Soveraign Lord, his name was* John Jokin, *who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having Intelligence of his arrival; For he was no* French-man *born, but an* Italian, *a man of no great estimation in France, or known to be much*

much in his Masters favour, but taken to be a Merchant; And for his subtile wit, was elected to treat of such an Embassage as the French King had given him in Commission.

This Jokin, *was secretly conveyed to* Richmond, *and there stayed until such time as the Cardinal resorted thither to him, where after Easter Term was ended, he kept his Feast of Whitsontide very solemnly; In which season my Lord Cardinal caused this* Jokin *divers times to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good behaviour, he continued long in* England *after this, till at the last (as it should seem) he had brought the matter, which he had in Commission to pass; Whereupon the King sent out immediately a restraint unto Sir* John Russell, *that he should retain that months pay still in his hands, until the Kings pleasure should be further made known, which should have been paid to the Duke, being then encamped within the Town of* Pavia. *For want of which money the Duke and his men were much dismayed, when they saw no money come as it was wont to doe, and being in this dangerous case where victuals began to be scant, and very dear, they imagined many ways what should be the reason that the Kings money came not, some said this, and some said that, mistrusting nothing else then the true cause thereof.*

Command sent to Sir *John Russell* to detain the Kings pay.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Duke of Burbons *Stratagem and Victory, wherein the French King was taken Prisoner.*

The Duke & his Souldiers in extream want.

NOw the Duke and his Souldiers were in great misery for want of victuals, and other necessaries, which they could by no means get within the Town; Hereupon the Captains and Souldiers began to grudge and murmure, being for want of Victuals all like to perish, and being in this extreamity, came before the Duke, and said, Sir, we must of force and necessity yield to our Enemies; and better were it for us so to doe, than to starve like Doggs. But when the Duke heard this, he replyed with weepling tears; Sirs, (quoth he) you have proved your selves valiant men, and of noble hearts in this service; and for your necessity, whereof I my self do participate, I do not a little lament; But I shall desire you, as you are noble in heart and courage, so to take patience for two or three dayes, and if succour come not then from the King of *England* (as I doubt nothing less) I will then consent to you all to put our selves and lives unto the mercy of our enemies, whereunto they all agreed, and tarryed till two dayes were past, expecting relief from the King; Then the Duke seeing no remedy, called his noble Captains and Soul-

The Dukes lovingadvise. A general consent.

Souldiers before him, and weeping, said; You Noblemen and Captains, we must yield our selves unto our Enemies, or else famish, and to yield the Town and our selves, I know well the cruelty of our Enemies, as for my part I passe not for their cruelties, for I shall suffer death (I know very well) most cruelly, if I come once into their hands; It is not therefore for my self that I do lament, it is for your sakes, and for your lives, and for the safe-guard of your persons, for so that you might escape your enemies hands, I would willingly suffer death; Good companions, and noble Souldiers, (I do require you all) considering the miserable calamities and dangers we are in at this present, to sell our lives most dearly, rather than to be murthered like Beasts; Therefore if you all content with me, we will take upon us this night to give our enemies assault, and by that means we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow, for it were better to dye in the field like men, then to live prisoners miserably in captivity, to which they all agreed.

The Dukes subtle devise.

Then (quoth the Duke) you all perceive the Enemies Camp is strong, and there is no way to enter upon them but one, and that entry is planted with great Ordnance and strength of men, so that it is impossible to attain to our enemies, that way to fight with them in their Campe: And also now of late you perceive they have had but small doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender watch.

There-

Therefore mine adviſe is, there ſhall iſſue out of the Town, in the dead time of the night from us a certain number of you, that be the moſt likely to aſſault the Campe, and they ſhall give the aſſault ſecretly againſt the place of the entry, which is moſt ſtrong and invincible, which force and valiant aſſault ſhall be to them of the Camp ſo doubtful, that they will turn the ſtrength of the entry, that lyeth over againſt your aſſault, to beat you from your purpoſe. Then will I enter out at the Poſtern gate, and come to the place of their ſtrength newly turned, and there ere they be aware will I enter and fight with them in the Camp, and win their Ordnance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own peeces, and then may you come and joyn with me in the field; So this deviſe pleaſed them all wonderful well; and did then prepare themſelves all that day for that deviſe, and kept themſelves ſecret and cloſe without any noyſe or ſhot of peeces in the Town, which gave the enemy the leſs fear of the aſſault, for at night they went all to their Tents, and couched quietly, nothing miſtruſting what after happened; So in the dead of the night, when they were at reſt, the aſſailants iſſued out of the Town, and there according to the Dukes appointment, they gave ſo cruel and fierce an aſſault, that they in the Camp had much adoe to withſtand them. And then (as the Duke before declared) they within were compelled to turn the ſhot that lay at the entry againſt the aſſault; Then iſſued out the Duke, and with

They iſſue out of the night.

with him about fifteen or sixteen hundred men or more, secretly in the night. The enemy being ignorant of his coming until he entred the field, and at his entry he took all the Ordnance that lay there, and slew the Gunners, then charged the Peeces against the enemies, and slew them wonderfully, and cut down their Tents and Pavillions, and murthered many therein ere they were aware of his coming, suspected nothing less then his entry, so that he won the field ere the King could arise; So the King was taken in his lodging before he was harnessed. And when the Duke had won the field, the French King taken, and his men slain, his Tents robbed and spoyled, and the Kings Coffers searcht, The Duke of *Burbon* found the league under the great Seal of *England*, newly made between the King of *England* & the French King, whereby he perceived the impediment of his mony which should have come to him from the King, having upon due search of this matter further intelligence, that all this business was devised by the Cardinal of *England*. Whereupon the Duke conceived such indignation against the Cardinal, that he went imediately to *Rome*, and there intended to sack the Town, and to have taken the Pope; But at the first assault of the Town, the Duke was the first man that was there slain, notwithstanding the Captaines continued their assaults. And at last many of the Town fled with the Pope to the Castle of *Angell*, where he continued in great calamity.

The Duke issues out with 150, or 160. men.

He slew the enemies, and took the Guns.

He won the field.

He intended to sack *Rome*, but was there slain.

I have written this History more at large, because

cause it was thought of all this mischief, wherefore you may see whatsoever a man doth purpose, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God dispatcheth all things at his pleasure and will; for being a folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprize of his own will, without calling upon God for his grace and assistance in all his proceedings.

I have seen Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Assembly, that they would first call to God most reverently for his grace therein. And now I see the contrary, as it seems they trust more to their own minds and wills, then to Gods good grace. And even thereafter oftentimes doe their matters take effect; Wherefore not only in this History, but divers others may be perceived most evident Examples. Yet I see no man almost in authority, or high estate, regard the same, which is the greater pitty, and the more to be lamented. Now here I desist to speak any further of this matter; and to proceed to others.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the French Kings Redemption out of Captivity, and of the Cardinals Embassage into France.

UPon the taking of the French King, there were divers Consultations and various opinions amongst the Councel. Some hold that our

our Soveraign Lord the King could invade the Realm of *France*, he might easily conquer the same, for as much as the King with the most part of the Noble men of *France* were in captivity. Some said again, that the King our Master ought to have had the French King Prisoner, for as much as he was taken by our Kings Champion, and Captain General the Duke of *Burbone* and the Emperour. Insomuch that the King was advised thereby to occasion of war against the Emperour, because he kept the King of *France* out of our Kings possession, with divers imaginations and devises as their fantasies served, which were too long here to relate.

Easie to invade *France*.

King *Henry* ought to have the French King captive.

Thus were they in long consideration, whereof every man in the Court talked as his Fansie served him, until at the last divers Ambassadors from the Realm of *France*, came to the King our Lord, desiring him to take order with the Emperour for the French Kings delivery, as his Highness wisdome should think best, wherein my Lord Cardinal bore great rule. So that after great deliberation and advise taken, it was thought good by the Cardinal that the Emperour should deliver the French King out of his ward upon sufficient pledges.

Divers Ambassadours from *France* to King *Henry* to take order for their Kings release.

And afterwards it was thought meet that the Kings two Sons (that is to say) the Dolphin and the Duke of *Orleans* should be delivered in hostage for security of the Emperour, and the King our Soveraign Lord, upon all such demands and requests as should be demanded of the French King, as well

by

by the Emperour as by our Soveraign Lord.

The Cardinal endeavoreth the peace of the Pope, and the French King.

The Cardinal lamenting the French Kings Captivity, and the Popes great adversity (who yet remained in the Castle *Angell*, either as prisoner, or else for defence against his Enemies) endeavoured and laboured all that he could with the King and his Counsel to take some order for the quietness of them both.

At the last, as you heard before, divers of the great States and Lords of the Councel, with the Lady *Anne* lay in continual wait to spie a convenient occasion to take the Cardinal in a snare.

The Counsel advised the Cardinal to goe of the Embassage to *France*.

Therefore they consulted with the Cardinal, and informed him that they thought it a necessary time for him to take upon him the Kings Commission, to travell beyond the Seas, and by his wisdom to compass a present peace amongst these great Princes and Potentates, encouraging him thereto, and alledging that it was more meet for his wisdom, discretion, and authority to bring so weighty a matter to pass then any other within this Realm; their intent was no other but to get him from the King, that they might adventure by the help of their chief Mistresses to deprave him unto the King, and so in his absence bring him into his disgrace, or at the least to be in less estimation.

This was a Plot.

The Cardinal doth prepare for his Journey.

Well, the matter was so handled that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for the journey, which he took upon him, but whether willingly or not I cannot say. But this I know, that he made so short abode after the

the perfect resolution thereof, that he caused all things to be prepared speedily for his journey. And every one of his Servants were appointed that should attend him in the same.

When all things were concluded and provided for this noble Journey, he advanced forwards in the name of God: My Lord had with him such of the Lords and Bishops as were not of the Conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new house at *Westminster* through all *London*, over *London* bridge, having a great many of Gentlemen in a rank before him in Velvet Coats, and the most part of them with Chaines of Gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him with noble men, and great mens Servants all in Orange-tawny Coats, and the Cardinals hat with *T.* and *C.* for *Thomas Cardinal* embroydred upon them as well upon his own servants Coats, as all the rest of the Gentlemen, and his sumpter Mules which were twenty and more in number: And when all his carriages and Carts, and other his train were passed before, he rode very sumptuously like a Cardinal with the rest of his train on his Mule with his spare Mule, and his spare horse covered with Crimson Velvet, and gilt stirrops, following him. And before him he had his two great Silver Crosses, his two Pillars of Silver, the Kings broad Seal of *England*, and his Cardinals Hat, and a Gentleman carrying his Ballance, otherwise called his Coalk-bag, which was made of fine scarlet all embroy-

See his Magnificence.

embroydered very richly with Gold. Thus he passed through *London*, as I said before, and all the way in his Journey he was thus furnished, having his Harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodgings for him and his said train.

The first Journey he made was two miles beyond *Debtford* in *Kent*, unto Sir *Richard Wiltshieres* house, the rest of his Traine were lodged in *Debtford*, and in the Country thereabouts.

Rochester. The next day he marched to *Rochester*, where he lay in the Bishops Pallace, and the rest were lodged in the City.

The third day he rode from thence to *Feversham*, and there lodged in the Abbey, and his Train in the Town, and som about in the Country.

He came to Canterbury. The fourth day he rode to *Canterbury*, where he was kindly entertained by the Bishop of the City, and there he continued four or five dayes. In which season was the Jubilee, and a great fair in the Town, by reason it was the Feast of Saint *Thomas* their Patron, upon which day there was a Solemn Procession, wherein my Lord Cardinal was in his Legantine Ornaments, with his hat upon his head, who commanded the Monks and the Quire to sing the Latine after this sort: *Sancta Maria ora pro Papa nostro clemente*, and in this manner perused the Latine through: My Lord Cardinal kneeling at a stoole before the Quire door prepared for him, with Carpets and Cushions: All the Monks and the Quire stood in the body singing the Letany. At which time I saw my Lord Cardinal

The Cardinal commandeth the Monks to pray for the Pope.

dinal weep tenderly, the which *James*, I, and others conceived to be for grief, that the Pope was in such calamity and danger of the Lance Knights. The Cardinal wept.

The next day I was sent with Letters from my Lord to a Cardinal in *Callis* in post, so that I was the same night in *Callis*. At my Arrival, I found standing upon the Peere without the Lanthorne-gate all the Councel of the Town, to whom I delivered up my Message, and my Letters before I entred the Town, where I lay untill my Lord came thither, who Arrived two dayes after my coming thither before eight of the clock in the morning, and was received of all the noble Officers and Councel of the Town, and the Major of the staple with Procession, the Clarks being in rich Copes, having many rich Crosses. He arrived at *Callis*.

In the Lanthorne-gate, a stool with Cushions and Carpets was set for him where he kneeled, and made his Prayers: At which time they fenced him in with Seizures of Silver and sprinkled water, that done, they passed on before him in Procession, untill he came unto Saint *Maries* Church, where at the high Altar turning him to the people he gave them his Benediction and pardon, and then he repaired with a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen to a place in the Town, called the Chequer, where he kept his House so long as he abode in the Town, going immediately into his naked Bed, because he was somewhat troubled with Sickenesse, by reason of his passage by Sea. He gave the people pardon.

That night he called unto him *Monsieur de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloigne*, with divers other Gallants and Gentlemen, who had dined with him that day, and having some further Consultation with my Lord Cardinal, he and the rest of the Gentlemen departed again to *Bulloigne*.

Thus my Lord was daily visited with one or other of the *French* Nobility.

The Cardinal calls all his Followers into his privy Chamber.

When all his Train and Carriage was Landed, and all things prepared for his Journey, his Grace called all his Noblemen and Gentlemen into the Privy Chamber, where being Assembled before him, he said; I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the duty you owe to me, and the good will I semblably bear to you for the same. Your intendment of Service is to further the Authority I have by Commission from the King, which diligent observance of yours, I will hereafter recommend to His Majesty, as also to shew you the Nature of the *French-men*, and withall, to instruct you with Reverence, you shall use me for the High Honour of the Kings Majesty, and to inform you how you shall Entertain and Accompany the *French-men*, when you meet at any time.

The Cardinals instructions to his Followers.

Concerning the first point, you shall understand for divers Weighty Affairs of His Graces, and for meer Advancement of His Royall Dignity, he hath Assigned me in this Journey to be his Lieutenant; what Reverence therefore belongeth to me for the same, I will shew you.

By

By Vertue therefore of my Commiſſion and Lieutenantſhip, I aſſume, and take upon me to be Eſteemed in all Honour and degrees of Service, as unto his Highneſſe is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to His State is due and appertinent; for my part, you ſhall ſee that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore one of your chief cauſes of your Aſſembly at this time, is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your duty in this; I wiſh you therefore, as you would have my Favour, and alſo charge you all in the Kings Name, that you do not forget the ſame in time and place, but that every of you do obſerve his Duty to me, according as you will at your Return avoid the Kings Indignation, or deſerve his Highneſſe thanks; the which I will ſet forth at our Return, as each of you ſhall deſerve. Their duty to him expreſſed

Now to the ſecond point, the nature of the *French-men* is ſuch, that at their firſt meeting, they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long acquaintance, and will commune with you in their *French* Tongue, as if they knew every word, therefore uſe them in a kind manner, and be as familiar with them as they are with you; if they ſpeak to you in their Natural Tongue, ſpeak to them in *Engliſh*, for if you underſtand not them, no more ſhall they you. Then ſpeaking merrily to one of the Gentlemen being a *Welchman*, *Rice* (quoth he) ſpeak thou *Welch* to them, and doubt not, but thy Speech will be more difficult to them, then their *French* ſhall be to thee. Moreover he ſaid unto them all, let your Enter- The nature of the *French-men*.

tainment and behaviour be according to all Gentlemens in humility, that it may be reported after our departure from thence, that you were Gentlemen of very good behaviour and humility; That all men may know, you understand your Duties to your King, and to your Master. Thus shall you not onely obtaine to your selves great Commendations and Praises; But also greatly advance your Prince and Country.

The Cardinal and his train go from *Callis*

Now being admonished of these things, prepare your selves against to morrow, for then we purpose to set forward. Therefore we his Servants being thus instructed, and all things being in a readinesse proceeded forwards; the next day being *Mary Magdalens* day, my Lord Cardinall advanced out of *Callis* with such a number of black Coates as hath been seldom seen, with the Ambassadour went all the Peers of *Callis*, and *Groynes*. All other Gentlemen, besides those of his train were garnished with black Velvet Coates and Chaines of Gold. Thus passed he forward, with his troop before, three in a Rank, which compass extended three quarters of a mile in length, having his Crosses, and all other his accustomed glorious furniture carried before him, as I have formerly related, except the broad Seal, the which he left with Doctor *Taylor*, then Master of the Rolls untill his return.

His Troops 3 in rank extended three quarters of a mile.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* meets my Lord.

Thus passing on his way, we had scarce gone a mile, but it began to rain so vehemently, that I have not seen the like for the time, which endured untill we came to *Bulloigne*, and e're we came

came to *Standingfield*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a goodly young Gentleman gave my Lord a meeting, and received him with much joy and reverence, and ſo paſſed forth with my Lord in communication, untill we came near the ſaid *Standingfield*, which is a Religious place, ſtanding between the *Engliſh*, *French*, and Imperial Dominions, being a Neuter, holding of neither of them. Then there we waited for my Lord *Le Count Brian* Captain of *Picardy*, with a great number of Stradigatts or Arboncies ſtanding in array, in a great piece of green Oates, all in harneſs upon light horſes, paſſing on with my Lord in a wing into *Bulloigne*, and ſo after into *Picardy*, for my Lord doubted that the Emperour would lay ſome Ambuſhment to betray him, for which cauſe he commanded them to attend my Lord for the ſafety of his own perſon, to conduct him from the danger of his enemies.

Captain of *Picardy*.

The *French* King ſent a Convoy.

Thus rode he accompanied, untill he came nigh to *Bulloigne*, within an *Engliſh* mile, where all the worſhipful Citizens of *Bulloigne* came and met him, having a learned man that made an Oration in Latine to him, unto the which my Lord made anſwer, and that done, *Monſieur de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloigne* with his Retinue, met him on horſe-back with all his Aſſembly. Thus he marched into the Town, lighting at the Abbey gate, from whence he was conveyed into the Abbey with Proceſſion, and there they preſented him with the Image of our Lady, commonly called our Lady of *Bulloigne*, where was alwayes great offerings; That done, he gave his bleſſing to the people, with certain dayes of par-

His entertainment in *Bulloigne*.

don; Then went he into the Abbey to his lodging, but all his Train were lodged in the high baſe Town.

Alſo at *Muteril.*

The next day, after he had heard Maſs, he rode to *Muteril*, where he was in like manner ſaluted by the worſhipful of the Town all in Livery alike, where alſo a Learned Orarion was made to him in Latine, which his Grace anſwered again in Latine. And as he entred in at the Gate, there was a Canopy of Silk imbroydered with like Letters, as his Men had on their Coates. And when he was alighted, his Footmen had it, as due to their Office. There was alſo made Pageants for joy of his coming, who was called in the *French* Tongue, whither ever he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagus*, and in Latine *Cardinalis Patifagus*, who was accompanied all that night, with the Gentlemen of the Country thereabout.

A Latine Oration.

Pageants made for joy.

His entertainment at *Aboville.*

The next day he took his Journey towards *Aboville*, where he was in like manner Entertained, and conveyed into the Town, and moſt Honourably welcomed with divers kinds of Pageants both coſtly, and wittily contrived to every turning of the Streets, as he rode through the Town, having a Canopy born over him, richer then at *Muteril*, and ſo conveyed him to his Lodging, which was a faire Houſe newly built with Brick, at which houſe the *French* King *Lewis* was married to the Kings Siſter, which was married after to the Duke of *Suffolk*. In this town of *Aboville* he remained eight or nine days, where reſorted unto him divers of the *French* Kings Counſel, every day continually feaſting,

and

and entertaining him, and the other Lords.

At the time of his departing out of the town, he rode to a Caſtle beyond the water, called by ſome *Le Channel Percequeine*, ſtanding and adjoyning to the ſaid water, upon a great Hill and Rock, within the which there was a Colledge of Prieſts; The Scituation whereof was much like to the Caſtle of *Windſor* in *England*, and there he was received with a Solemn Proceſſion, conveying him firſt to the Church, and then to the Caſtle upon the Bridge over the water of *Some*, where King *Edward* the Fourth met with the *French* King, as you may read at large in the Chronicles of *England*.

My Lord was no ſooner ſeated in his lodging, but I heard, that the *French* King would come that day to the City of *Amience*, which was not above ſix *Engliſh* miles from thence. And being deſirous to ſee his coming thither, I took with me two of my Lords Gentlemen, and rode preſently thither: And being but ſtrangers, we took up our lodgings at the ſign of the *Angel*, directly over againſt the Weſt door of the Cathedrall Church *de noſtre Dame*, where we ſtayed in expectation of the Kings coming: And about foure of the clock, came *Madam Regent* the Kings Mother riding in a very Rich Chariot, and with her within was the Queen of *Navar*, her Daughter, attended with a hundred or more of Ladies and Gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white *Palfrey*, alſo her *Guard* which was of no ſmall number. And within two days after, the King came in with a great ſhot of Guns, and there was divers *Pageants* made only for joy of his com-

I left my Lord and rode to *Amience* to ſee the King.

Firſt came *Madam Regent*.

Two days after the King, attended by *Swithers, Burgonians, French* and *Scottish.*

ing, having about his person and before him a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in three companies. The first, were of *Swithers* and *Burgonians* with Guns; The second, were *Frenchmen* with Bowes; The third, were *Le Carpe-fall Scottishmen*, who were more comely persons then all the rest. The *French* Guard and *Scottish* had all one Livery, being apparelled with rich Coats of white cloth, with a rich guard of silver Bullione of a handful broad: The King came riding on a rich Jennet, and did alight at the said great Church, and was conveyed with procession to the Bishops Pallace, where he was lodged. The next morning, I rode again to *Piceguny* to attend upon my Lord, and when I came, my Lord was ready to go on horse-back to ride towards *Amiens*, and passing on his way, he was saluted by divers Noble personages, making him Orations in Latine, to whom my Lord made answer *ex tempore*.

The Cardinal put on rich Rayments.

Then was word brought him, that the King was ready to meet him, wherefore he had no other shift, but to light at an old Chappel that stood hard by the high way, and there he newly apparrelled himself in rich array; and so mounted again upon another Mule very richly trapped with a foot-cloath of Crimson Velvet purled with Gold, and fringed about the edges with a fringe of Gold very costly, his stirrops of Silver gilt, the bosses of the same, and the checkes of his Mules bit were all gilt with fine Gold; and by that time he was mounted again in this gorgeous manner, the King was come very near, within lesse then an *Eng-*

glish

gliſh quarter of a mile, his guard ſtanding in Array upon the top of an high Hill, expecting my Lords coming; to whom my Lord made as much haſt as conveniently he could, untill he came within a paire of Buts length, and there he ſtayed. The King perceiving that, cauſed *Monſieur van de Mount* to iſſue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinal to know the cauſe of his tarrying, and ſo *Monſieur van de Mount* being mounted upon a very fair Jennet, took his Race with his Horſe, till he came even to my Lord, and then he cauſed his Horſe to come aloft twice or thrice ſo near my Lords Mule, that he was in doubt of his Horſe, and ſo alighted, and in Humble Reverence did his Meſſage to my Lord, that done he repaired to the King.

The *French* King and the Cardinal meet

And then the King advanced forwards, ſeeing my Lord do the like, and in the mid-way, they meet embracing each other with amiable countenances. Then came into the place, all Noblemen and Gentlemen on both parts, who made a mighty preſs.

They March, the Cardinal on the Kings right hand.

Then the Kings Officers cryed *Penant de la Vant*, *March*, *March*: So the King with the Lord Cardinal on his right hand rode towards *Amience*; Every *Engliſh* Gentleman being accompanied with another of *France*. The Train of theſe two great Princes was two miles in length, that is to ſay, from the place of their meeting unto *Amience*, where they were Nobly received with Guns and Pageants, unſill the King had brought my Lord to his Lodging, and then departed for that night. The

King

King being lodged in the Bishops Pallace: And the next day after Dinner, my Lord rode with a great Train of *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen unto the Court to the King, at which time, the King kept his Bed, yet nevertheless, my Lord came into his Bed-Chamber, where on the one side of the Bed sate the Kings Mother, and on the other side, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of *France*, and after some Communication, and drinking of Wine with the Kings Mother, my Lord departed and returned to his own Lodging, accompanied with divers other Lords and Gentlemen.

The King and Cardinal at *Amience* 14. dayes.

Thus continued my Lord at *Amience*, and also the King fourteen days, feasting each other divers times, and there one day at Masse, the King and my Lord received the Holy *Sacrament*, as also the Queen *Regent*, and the Queen of *Navarre*, after that, it was determined, that the King and my Lord should remove, and so they rode to a City, called *Campaine*, which was more then twenty miles from *Amience*, unto which Town I was sent to provide lodging for my Lord, and in my travel, I having occasion to stay by the way at a little Village to shooe my Horse; There came to me a Servant from the Castle, there perceiving me to be an *English man*, and one of my Lord Legates Servants (as they then called my Lord) desired me to go into the Castle, to the Lord his Master, whom he thought would be very glad to see me, to whom I consented, because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with men of

They removed from *Amience* to *Campanei*.

Authority,

Authority and Honourable Rank; ſo I went with him, who Conducted me to the Caſtle, and at my firſt entrance, I was among the watchmen who kept the firſt Ward, being very tall men, and comly perſons, who ſaluted me very kindly; and knowing the cauſe of my coming, they advertiſed their Lord and Maſter: and forthwith, the Lord of the Caſtle came out unto me, whoſe name was *Monſieur Crookeſby*, a Nobleman born; and at his coming he Embraced me, ſaying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me, that was ſo gentle as to viſit him, and his Caſtle; ſaying, that he was preparing to meet the King, and my Lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his Caſtle; and when he had ſhewed me the ſtrength of his Caſtle, and the Walls which were 14. foot broad, and I had ſeen all the Houſes, he brought me down into a fair inner Court where his Jennet ſtood ready for him, with twelve other of the faireſt Jennets that ever I ſay, eſpecially his owne, which was a Mare: which Jenner, he told me he had 400 crowns offered for her; Upon theſe 12 Jennets were mounted 12 goodly *Gentlemen*, called *Pages of honour*, they rode all bare headed, in *coats* of *cloth* of *gold*, guarded with *black velvet* & they had all of them *boots of red Spaniſh leather*.

Mouſieur Crookeſby's going to invite the King and the Cardinal to his Caſtle.

Then took he his leave of me, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen, to conduct me to his Lady to dinner; So they led me up to the Gate-houſe, where then their Lady and Miſtris lay, for the time that the King and the Cardinal ſhould tarry there. And after a ſhort time, the Lady *Crookeſby* came out of

The Cardinals ſervant nobly entertained.

of her Chamber into the Dining room, where I attended her coming, who did receive me very Nobly, like her self, she having a train of twelve Gentlemen that did attend on her, Forasmuch (quoth she) as you are an *English* Gentleman, whose custome is to kisse all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without offence, yet it is not so in this Realm; Notwithstanding, I will be so bold as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my Maids. After this we went to dinner, being as nobly served as ever I saw any in *England*, passing all dinner time in pleasing discourses.

The Lady salutes him her self.

And shortly after dinner I took my leave, and was constrained that night to lye short of *Campanie*, at a great walled Town, called *Moundrodrey*, the Suburbes whereof my Lord of *Suffolk* had lately burned; and early in the morning I came to *Companie*, being Saturday, and Market day, where at my first coming, I took up my Inne over against the Market-place, and being set at Dinner in a faire Chamber that looked out into the Street, I heard a great noise and clattering of Bills; and looking out, I saw the Officers of the Town bringing a Prisoner to Execution, and with a Sword cut off his head. I demanded what was the Offence, they answered me, for killing of Red Deer in the Forrest near adjoyning. And incontinently they held the poor mans head upon a Pole in the Market place between the Staggs horns, and his four quarters set up in four places of the Forrest.

Having prepared my Cardinals lodgings in the

the great Caſtle of the Town, and ſeen it furniſhed, my Lord had the one half aſſigned, and the King the other half, and in like manner they divided the Gallery between them; And in the middeſt thereof, there was made a ſtrong Wall with a Window and a Door, where the King and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers times go one to the other through the ſame Door. Alſo there was lodged in the ſame Caſtle Madam Regent, the Kings Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

The *French* King, the Lord Cardinal, and the Queen Regent lodged all in one Caſtle.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellour of *France*, a very witty man, with all the Kings grave Counſellours, where they took great pains daily in Conſultation. At which time I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chancellour of *France*, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the League which before his coming was concluded upon, by the King our Soveraign Lord, and the *French* King their Maſter. Inſomuch that my Lord ſtomacked him ſtoutly, and told him, it was not he that ſhould infringe the amiable Friendſhip. And if the *French* King his Maſter, being there preſent, would follow his the Chancellours Counſel, he ſhould not fail ſhortly after his Return to feel the ſmart, what it was to maintaine War againſt the King of *England*, and thereof he ſhould be well aſſured; inſomuch, that his angry Speech, and bold Countenance made them all doubt how to quiet him to the Councel, who was then departed in a great fury.

The Cardinal fell out with the Chancellour of *France*.

The Cardinal departs in anger.

Now

Great meanes used to bring him again to consultation.

Now here was sending, here was coming, here was intreating, and here was great submission and intercession made unto him, to reduce him to his former Communication, who would in no wayes relent, untill *Madam Regent* came to him her self, who handled the matter so well, that she brought him to his former Communication, and by that means, he brought all things to passe, that before he could not compasse, which was more out of fear then affection the *French* King had to the matter in hand; for now he had got the heads of the Councel under his Girdle.

The next morning after this conflict, the Cardinal arose about four of the clock, and sate him down to write Letters into *England* unto the King, commanding one of his Chaplains to prepare him ready; Insomuch, that the Chaplain stood ready in his Vestures, untill four of the clock in the Afternoon. All which season, my Lord never rose to any meat, but continually writ Letters with his own hand; And about four of the clock in the Afternoon he made an end of writing, commanding one *Christopher Gunner* the Kings Serjeant to prepare himself without delay to Ride Post into *England* with his Letters, whom he dispatcht away ere ever he drank. That done, he went to Mass and Mattins, and other Devotions with his Chaplain, as he was accustomed to do, and then went to walk in a Garden the space of an hour and more, and then said Evening Song, and so went to dinner and supper, making no long stay, and so went to bed.

The Cardinal writes Letters into *England*. He sends Post into *England*.

The

The next night following, my Lord cauſed a great ſupper to be made, or rather a Banquet for *Madam Regent*, and the Queen of *Navarre*, and other Noble Perſonages, Lords and Ladies. At which Supper was *Madam Lewis*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis* the laſt King, whoſe Siſter lately dyed, theſe two Siſters were of their Mother Inheritours of the Dutchy of *Brittain*. And foraſmuch as King *Francis* had married one of the Siſters by which he had one Moytie of the ſaid Dutchy, he kept the ſaid *Madam Lewis*, the other Siſter without marriage, to the intent the whole Dutchy might deſcend to him or his Succeſſours after his death, for lack of Iſſue of her.

The Cardinal Feaſts two Queens.

But now let us return to the Supper or Banquet, where all thoſe Noble Perſonages were highly Feaſted. And at the middeſt of the ſaid Banquet, the *French* King, and the King of *Navarre* came ſuddenly in, who took their places in the loweſt part thereof; There was not only plenty of fine meats, but alſo much mirth and ſolace, as well in merry Communication, as alſo the noyſe of my Lords Muſick, who played there all that night ſo cunningly, that the two Kings took great delight therein, inſomuch, that the *French* King deſired my Lord to lend them unto him for the next night. And after the Supper or Banquet ended, the Lords fell to dancing, amongſt whom one *Madam Fountaine* had the praiſe. And thus paſſed they the moſt part of the night e're they parted.

In comes the *French* King, and the King of *Navarre*.

The *French* King much taken with my Lords Muſick.

The next day, the King took my Lords Muſick,

ſick, and rode to a Noblemans Houſe, where was ſome living Image, to whom he had vowed a nights Pilgrimage. And to perform his Devotion when he came there (which was in the night) he danced, and cauſed others to do the ſame, and the next morning he returned to *Campanie*.

The *French* King hunted the wild *Bore*.

The King being at *Campanie*, gave order that a wild Bore ſhould be lodged for him in the Forreſt, whither my Lord Cardinal went with him to ſee him hunt the wild Bore, where the Lady *Regent*, with a number of Ladies and Damſels were ſtanding in Chariots, looking upon the Toyle, amongſt theſe Ladies ſtood my Lord Cardinal, to regard the Hunting, in the Lady *Regents* Chariot. And within the Toyle was the King with divers Ladies of *France* ready furniſhed for the high and dangerous Enterprize of Hunting of this perillous wild Swine.

The King being in his Doublet and Hoſe all of Sheeps colour cloth richly trimmed, in his ſlip a brace of very great Gray-hounds, who who were armed as their manner there is, to defend them from the violence of the Beaſts tuskes. And the reſt of the Kings Gentlemen that were appointed to hunt, were likewiſe in their Doublets and Hoſe, holding each of them a very ſharp Bores ſpeare; Then the King commanded the Keepers to uncouch the Boar; And that every perſon within the Toyle ſhould go to a ſtanding, amongſt whom were divers Gentlemen of *England*.

The Boar preſently iſſued out of his Den, and being

being pursued by a Hound, came into the plain, where he stayed a while gazing upon the people, and the Hound drawing near him, he espyed a Bush upon a bank; under the bush lay two *Frenchmen*, who fled thither, thinking there to be safe; But the Bore smelling them, and thrusting his head into the Bush, these two men came away from thence, as men use to fly from the danger of death.

Then was the Bore by violence of the Hunters driven from thence, who ran straight to one of my Lords Footmen, being a very tall man, who had in his hand an *English* Javelin, with which he defended himself a great while. But the Bore continued foaming at him with his great Tuskes; at the last the Bore broke in sunder his Javelin, so that he was glad to draw his Sword, and therewith stood upon his guard untill the Hunters came and rescued him, and put the Bore once again to flight to an other Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. *Ratcliffe*, who was Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, now Earle of *Sussex*, who by his Boars spear rescued himself. There were many other passages, but I forbear prolixity, and return to the matter in hand.

Many dayes were spent in Consultation, and Expectation of *Christopher-Gunner's* Return, who was formerly sent post into *England* with Letters, as I said before; At last he returned with Letters, upon Receipt whereof, my Lord prepared with all expedition to return to *England*. Preparation to return into *England*.

That morning that my Lord intended to *remove*,

being at Mass in his Closet, he Consecrated the Chancellour of *France*, a Cardinal, and put his Hat on his head, and his Cap of Scarlet, and then took his journey, and returned into *England* with all expedition he could, and came to *Sayne*, and was there nobly entertained of my Lord *Stanes*, who was Captain of that place, and from thence went to *Callice*, where he stayed a while for shipping of his goods. And in the mean time he established a work to be there kept for all Nations. But how long, or in what sort it continued, I know not; For I never heard of any great good it did, or of any Assembly of Merchants, or traffique of Merchandize that were brought thither for so great and mighty a matter, as was intended for the good of the Town; This being established, he took shipping for *Dover*, and from thence rode post to Court.

The Cardinal that morning he came away made the Chancellour of *France* a Cardinal.

The King being then in his progress at Sir *Henry Wyats* house in Kent, of whom I and other of his servants thought he should have been nobly entertained, as well of the King himself as of his Nobles: But we were all deceived in our expectations: Notwithstanding he went immediately to the King after his return, with whom he had long talk, and continued two or three days after in the Court, and then retired to his house at *Westminster*, where he remained till Michaelmas Term, which was within a fort-night after, and there he exercised his place of Chancellourship, as he had done before.

He arrives at the Court.

And immediately after the beginning of the Term

Term he cauſed to be aſſembled in the Star-chamber all the Noblemen, Judges and Juſtices of the Peace of every Shire throughout *England*, and were at *Weſtminſter*-Hall then preſent. And there he made a long Oration, declaring the cauſe of his Embaſſage into *France*, and of his proceedings therein, ſaying that he had concluded ſuch an Amity and peace, as never was heard of in this Realm, between our Soveraign Lord the Kings Majeſty, the Emperour and the French King; for a perpetual peace, which ſhall be confirmed in writing, under the Seals of both Realms engraven in Gold: Offering further that our King ſhould receive yearly by that name out of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, all the charges and loſſes he had ſuſtained in the wars.

The Cardinal maketh an oration in the Star-chamber

A perpetual peace made with *France*.

And alſo for as much as there was a reſtraint made of the *French* Queens Dowry (whom the the Duke of *Suffolk* had married) for many years together during the Wars: It was concluded that ſhe ſhould not only receive the ſame according to her juſt right, but alſo the Arreages being unpaid during the ſaid reſtraint ſhould be perfected ſhortly after. The reſort of Ambaſſadours out of *France* ſhould be ſuch a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen to confirm the ſame as hath not been ſeen heretofore to repaire hither out of one Realm.

This peace thus concluded, their ſhall be ſuch an amity between them of each Realm, and entercourſe of Merchandiſe, that it ſhall be ſeen to all men to be but one Monarchy. Gen-

tlemen and others may travel from one Country to another for their Recreations and Pleasure. And Merchants of either Country may Traffick safely without fear of danger. So that this Realm shall ever after flourish.

Therefore may all *Englishmen* well rejoyce, and set forth the truth of this Embassie in the Country. Now my Masters, I beseech you, and require you in the Kings behalf, that you shew your selves as loving and obedient Subjects, in whom the King may much rejoyce, &c. And so he ended his Oration, and brake up the Court for that time.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the French *Ambassadours Entertainment, and dispatch.*

NOw the great long-looked-for Ambassadours are Arrived, being in number eight persons of the Noblest and most Worthy Gentlemen in all *France*, who were Nobly received from place to place, and so conveyed through *London*, to the Bishops Palace in *Pauls* Church-yard, where they were lodged, to whom divers Noblemen resorted, and gave them noble Presents (especially the Major of *London*) as Wines, Sugars, Beeves, Muttons, Capons, wild Fowle, Wax, and other necessary things in abundance for the expences of his house.

They

They resored to the Court being then at *Greenwich*, on Sunday, and were received of the Kings Majesty, of whom they were Entertained highly.

They had a Commission to establish our Kings Highnesse in the order of *France*, to whom they brought for that intent, a Coller of fine Gold, with a Michel hanging thereat, and Robes, to the said Order appertaining, which were of blew Velver, and richly imbroydered, wherein I saw the King pass to the Closer, and after in the same to Mass. The Embassadours establish our King in the order of *France*.

And to Gratifie the *French* King for his great Honour, he sent incontinently Noble Men here in *England*, of the Order of the Garter, which Garter the Herauld carried into *France* unto the *French* King, to Establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a rich Coller and Garter, and Robes according to the same: The *French* Ambassadour still remaining here, untill the return of the *English*. The King of *England* sent Ambassie into *France*, to Establish the *French* King in the order of the Garter.

All things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetual Peace; upon solemn Ceremonies and Oaths contained in certain Instruments concerning the same; It was concluded there should be a Solemn Mass Song in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls* in *London* by the Cardinal, the King being present at the same in his traverse to perform all things determined.

And for the preparation thereof, there was a Gallery from the West door of *Pauls* Church through the body of the same up to the Quire, and so to the High Altar, into the traverse. My

Lord Cardinal prepared himſelf to ſing the Maſs, aſſociated with twenty four Myters of Biſhops and Abbots, who attended him with ſuch Ceremonies as to him were then due by reaſon of his Legative Prerogative.

The King of *England* and *France* Ambaſſadours receive the Sacraments to confirm the perpetual peace.

And after the laſt *Agnus* the King roſe out of the Travers and kneeled upon a Carpet and Cuſhions before the high Altar, and the like did the great Maſter of *France* chief Ambaſſadour, that here preſented the Kings perſon of *France*, between whom the Lord Cardinal divided the bleſſed Sacrament as a perfect oath and bond for ſecurity of the ſaid Covenants, of the ſaid perpetual peace.

That done, the King went again into the Travers, this Maſs being ended, which was ſolemnly ſung both by the Quire of the ſame Church, and all the Kings Chappell.

The Articles of peace read by the Cardinal. The King ſubſcribeth and ſealeth.

Then my Lord took and read the Articles of peace openly before the King and all other, both Engliſh and French, and there in ſight of all the people the King put his hand to the gold Seal, and ſubſcribed with his own hand, and delivered the ſame to the grand Maſter of *France*, as his deed, who ſemblably did the like; that done, they departed and rode home with the Cardinal, and dined with him, paſſing all the day after in conſultation of weighty affaires, touching the Articles and concluſion of the ſaid peace.

The *French* Nobility conveyed to *Richmond*.

Then the King departed to *Greenwich* by water, at whoſe departure it was concluded by the Kings deviſe, that all the *Frenchmen* ſhould remove to *Richmond* and hunt there: And from

from thence to *Hampton* Court, and there to hunt likewise. And the Lord Cardinal there to make a Banquet or Supper, or both, and from thence they should ride to *Windsor*, and there hunt: And after return to the King at *Greenwich*, and there to banquet with him before their departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their lodgings, then was there no more to doe, but to make preparation in all things for the entertainment of this great assembly at *Hampton* Court, at the time appointed by my Lord Cardinal, who called before him all his chief Officers, as Stewards, Treasurers, Clarks, and Comptrollers of his Kitchen, to whom he declared his whole mind touching the entertainment of the Frenchmen at *Hampton* Court, to whom he also gave command neither to spare for any cost or expences, nor pains, to make them such a Triumphant Banquet, as they may not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report to the great honour of our King and this Realm.

Thus having made known his pleasure, to accomplish his commandement, they sent out all the Carriers, Purveyers, and other persons to my Lords friends to prepare: Also they sent to all expert Cooks, and cunning persons, in the Art of Cookery in *London*, or elsewhere, that they might be gotten to beautifie the noble Feast.

Then the Purveyour provided, and my Lords friends sent in such provision that it was a wonder to see it.

The Cooks they wrought both day and night

in many curious deviſes, where was no lack of Gold, Silver, or any other coſtly thing: the Yeomen and Groomes of his Wardrobe were buſied in hanging the Chambers with coſtly Hangings, and furniſhed the ſame with beds of Silk, and other furniture for the ſame in every degree.

The Roomes richly hung.

Then my Lord ſent me, being his Gentleman Uſher, and two other of my Fellows to fore-ſee all things touching our rooms to be richly garniſhed, wherein our pains was not ſmall. But daily we travelled up and down from Chamber to Chamber, to ſee things fitted.

Then wrought Joyners, Carpenters, Painters, and other Artificers needfull, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this Noble Feaſt: There was carriage and re-carriage of Plate, Stuff, and other rich employments, ſo that there was nothing lacking, that could be deviſed or imagined for the purpoſe. There were alſo provided two hundred and eighty beds, with all manner of Furniture to them, too long here to be Related.

200 and 80 Beds prepared.

The day aſſigned to the *French-men* being come, they were ready aſſembled before the hour of their appointment, wherefore the Officers cauſed them to ride to *Hannorth*, a Park of the Kings within three miles of *Hampton* Court, there to ſpend the time in hunting till night, which they did, and then returned, and every of them were conveyed to their ſeveral Chambers, having in them good fires and ſtore of wine, where they remain'd till Supper was ready.

The ordering of the Banqetting Rooms.

The Chambers where they Supped and Banquetted, were adorned thus: Firſt,

First, the great waiting Chamber was hung with very rich cloth of *Arras*, and so all the rest, some better then others, and furnished with tall Yeomen to serve: There were set Tables round about the Chambers, Banquet-wise covered: Also a Cubbord garnished with white Plate, having also in the same Chamber four great Plates to give the more light, set with great lights, a great fire of wood and coals.

The next Chamber was the Chamber of presence, richly hanged also with cloth of *Arras*, and a sumptuous cloth of State furnished with many goodly Gentlemen to serve. The Tables were ordered in manner as the other were, save only the high Table was removed beneath the cloth of State, towards the midst of the Chamber with six desks of Plate, garnished all over with fine Gold, saving one pair of Candlesticks of silver and gilt, with lights in the same, the Cubbord was barred about that no man could come very near it, for there were divers pieces of great store of Plate to use, besides the Plate that hung on the Walls to give light, were silver and gilt with wax lights.

Now were all things in readiness, and supper sit, the principal Officers caused the Trumpets to blow, to warn them to supper. The Officers conducted the Noblemen where they were to sup, and they being set, service came up in such aboundance, both costly and full of devises with such a pleasant noise of Musique, that the *Frenchmen* (as it seemed) were wrapt up in a heavenly Paradise. You must understand, that my

The *Frenchmen* conducted to supper.

my Lord Cardinal was not there all this while. But the *French Monſieurs* were very merry, with their rich fair and curious cates and knacks. But before the ſecond courſe, my Lord Cardinal came in booted and ſpurred ſuddenly amongſt them, at whoſe coming there was great joy, every man riſing from his place, whom my Lord Cardinal cauſed to ſit ſtill and keep their places, and being in his Riding apparell, called for his chair, and ſat him down in the midſt of the high Table, and was there as merry and pleaſant as ever I ſaw him in my life.

The Cardinal comes in ere the ſecond courſe.

Preſently after came up the ſecond courſe, which was above 100. ſeverall deviſes, which were ſo goodly and coſtly, that I think the *Frenchmen* never ſaw the like.

But the rareſt curioſity of all the reſt, they all wondred at (which indeed was worthy of wonder) were Caſtles with Images in the ſame like Saint *Pauls* Church for the Modell of it, there were beaſts, birds, fowles, perſonages moſt excellently made, ſome fighting with Swords, ſome with Guns, other with Croſbows, ſome dancing with Ladies, ſome on horſeback with compleat Armour, juſtling with long and ſharp ſpears, and many other ſtrange deviſes, which I cannot deſcribe: Amongſt all, I noted, there was a Cheſ-board made of ſpice-plate with men of the ſame, and of good proportion.

And becauſe the *Frenchmen* are very expert at that ſport, my Lord Cardinal gave that ſame to a *French* Gentleman, commanding that there ſhould be made a good caſe to convey the ſame into his Country. Then

Then called my Lord for a great bowl of gold filled with Hipocras, and putting off his cap, ſaid, I drink a health to the King my Soveraign Lord, and next unto the King your Maſter. And when he had drunk a hearty draught, he deſired the grand Maſter to pledge him a cup, which cup was worth 500. Markes; and ſo all the Lords in order pledged theſe great Princes. The Cardinal drinks a health to both Kings.

Then went the cup merrily about, ſo that many of the *French-men* were led to their beds; then went my Lord into his privy Chamber making a ſhort Supper, or rather a ſhort repaſt, and then returned again into the preſence Chamber amongſt the *French-men*, behaving himſelf in ſuch a loving ſort, and ſo familiarly towards them, that they could not ſufficiently commend him.

And while they were in communication and paſtime, all their livery were ſerved to their Chambers, every Chamber had a Baſon and Ewer of ſilver, and a great livery pot with plenty of wine, and ſufficient of every thing.

Thus furniſhed was every room about the houſe: when all was done, then were they conducted to their lodgings.

In the morning after they had heard Maſs, they ſtayed and dined with my Lord, and ſo departed towards *Windſor*: And as ſoon as they were gone, my Lord returned to *London*, becauſe it was the midſt of the Term.

You muſt conceive, the King was privy to this magnificent Feaſt, who then intended far to exceed the ſame, which I re-

ſer

ſer to the *Frenchmens* return. Now the King had given command to his Officers to provide a far more ſumptuous Banquet for the Strangers, then they had at the Cardinals, which was not neglected. After the return of theſe Strangers from *Windſor*, which place they much commended for the ſcituation thereof, the King invited them to the Court where they dined, and after dinner they danced, and had their paſtime till ſupper time.

His Majeſty invites the Strangers to the Court.

Then was the Banquet Chamber in the little yard at *Greenwich* furniſhed for the entertainment of theſe Strangers, to which place they were conducted by the greateſt perſonages then being in the Court, where they did both ſup and banquet; but to deſcribe to you the order hereof, the variety of coſtly diſhes, and the curious deviſes my weak ability and ſhallow capacity, would much Eclipſe the magnificence thereof. But thus much take notice of, that although that Banquet at *Hampton* Court was marvellous ſumptuous, yet this Banquet excelled the ſame as much, as gold doth ſilver in value. And for my part I never ſaw the like.

In the midſt of the Banquet, there was turning at the Barriers of luſty gentlemen in compleat Armour very gorgeous on foot, and the like on horſe-back: And after all this, there was ſuch an excellent interlude made in Latine, that I never ſaw nor heard the like, the Actors apparrell being ſo gorgeous and of ſuch ſtrange deviſes, that it paſſeth my poor capacity to relate them.

This

This being ended, there came a great company of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the chiefeſt beauties in the Realm of *England*, being as richly attired as coſt could make, or Art deviſe to ſet forth their geſtures, proportions, or beauties, that they ſeemed to the Beholder, rather like Celeſtial Angels then Terreſtial Creatures, and in my judgement worthy of admiration, with whom the gentlemen of *France* danced and masked; every man chuſing his Lady as his fancy ſerved: That done, and the Maſquers departed, came in another Maſque of Ladies and Gentlewomen ſo richly attired, as I cannot expreſs; Theſe Ladies Maſquers took each of them one of the *Frenchmen* to dance, and here note that theſe Noble women ſpoke all of them good *French*, which delighted them much to hear the Ladies ſpeak to them in their own language.

Thus triumphantly did they ſpend the whole night from five of the clock at the night, unto two or three of the clock in the morning, at which time the Gallants drew all to their lodgings to take their reſt.

As neither health, wealth, nor pleaſure can always laſt, ſo ended this triumphant Banquet, which being paſt, ſeemed in the morning to the Beholders, as a phantaſtique dream.

Now after all this ſolemn banquitting, they prepared with Bag and Baggage to return, and thereupon repaired to the King, and in order, every man took his leave of his Majeſty, and the Nobles, by whom the King ſent his Princely pleaſure and commendations

Their preparation for *France*.

They take leave of the King.

tions to the King their Master, thanking them for their paines. And after great communication had with the great Master of that Ambassage, he bad them adue.

Then they came to *Westminster* to my Lord Cardinal to doe the like, of whom he received the Kings reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

The Kings reward.

First, every man of honour and estimation had plate, some to the value of 2. or 300. pounds, and some of 400 pounds, besides the great gifts before received of his Majesty; As gowns of Velvet with rich furs, great chains of Gold, and some had goodly horses of great value, with divers other gifts of great value, which I cannot call to remembrance; but the worst of them had the sum of twenty crowns, and thus being nobly rewarded, my Lord after humble commendations to the *French* King bad them farewell, and so they departed.

And also of the Cardinal

The next day they were conveyed to *Dover* to the sea side, with all their furniture, being accompanied with many *English* young Gallants, and what report of their royal entertainment they made in their own Country, I never heard.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Kings discovery of his love to Mistris Anne Bulloigne *to the Cardinal, with the Cardinals dislike, and also the opinion of all learned Bishops in* England *and forraign Universities.*

AFter this began new matters which troubled the heads and imaginations of all the Court, wherewith all their stomacks were full, but little digestion, *viz.* the long concealed affection of the King to Mistris *Anne Bulloigne* now break out, which his Majesty disclosed to the Cardinal, whose often perswasions on his knees took no effect.

My Lord thereupon being compelled to declare to his Majesty his opinion and wisdome in the advancement of the Kings desires, thought it not safe for him to wade too far alone, or to give rash judgement in so weighty a matter, but desired leave of the King to ask Counsel of men of ancient and famous learning both in Divine and Civil Laws.

Now this being obtained, he by his Legatine Authority sent out his Commissions for the Bishops of this Realm, who not long after assembled all at *Westminster* before my Lord Cardinal. And not only these *Prelates*, but also the most learned men of both *Universities*, and some from divers Cathedrall Colledges in

in this Realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtful question.

The Kings Case discussed by an assembly of Bishops

At this learned assembly was the Kings Case consulted of, debated, argued and judged from day to day. But in conclusion when these ancient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one Judgement, and that contrary to the expectation of most men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, the Kings Case was too obscure for any man, and the points therein were doubtful to have any resolution therein, and so at that time with a general consent departed, without any resolution or judgement.

In this assembly of Bishops and divers other learned men, it was thought very expedient that the King should send out his Commissioners into all Universities in Christendom, as well here in *England*, as forraign Regions, there to have this Case argued substantially, and to bring with them from thence every definition of their opinions of the same, under the Seal of every University, and thus for this time were their determinations.

Commissioners sent to all the forraign University.

And thereupon divers Commissioners were presently appointed for this design: So some were sent to *Cambridge*, some to *Oxford*, some to *Loraigne*, others to *Paris*, some to *Orleance*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper costs and charges of the King, which in the whole amounted to a great sum of money: and all went out of this Realm, besides the charge of the Embassage to those famous and notable

persons

persons of all the Universities, especially such as bare the rule, or had the custody of the University Seals, were fed by the Commissioners with such great sums of mony, that they did easily condiscend to their requests, and grant their desires.

By reason whereof all the Commissioners returned with their purpose, furnished according to their Commissions under the Seal of every several University, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principal parties. Insomuch that ever after the Commissioners were had in great estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded far beyond their worthy deserts. Notwithstanding they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having now as they thought, a sure staffe to lean upon.

The Cardinal sends again for the Bishops.

These proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, he sent again for the Bishops, to whom he declared the effect of these Commissioners pains, and for assurance thereof, shewed them the instruments of each University under their several Seals, and the business being thus handled, they went again to consultation how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very meet the King should send unto the Pope his Holiness, the opinions of both Universities of *England*, and also forraign Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common Seals. And it was also thought fit the opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England*

land should be sent to the Pope, comprised in an Instrument which was not long time in finishing.

Embassadors sent to the Pope.

Nor was it long after that the Imbassadors were assigned for this design, who took their journey accordingly, having certain Instruments, that if the Pope would not thereupon consent to give Judgment definitively in the Kings Case, then to require another Commission from his Holiness to be granted to his Legate, to establish a Court here in *England*, for that purpose only, to be directed to my Lord Cardinal Legate of *England*, and to Cardinal *Campain* Bishop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certain time, when he was sent Embassador hither from the Pope his Holiness, to determine and rightly judge according to their Consciences. To the which, after long suit made, and for the good will of the said Cardinal, the Pope granted their suit.

The Pope doth grant their suit.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King that his Graces pleasure should be now brought to pass substantially, being never more likely, considering the state of the Judges.

The Pope sends his Legat into *England*.

Long was the expectation on both sides for the coming over of the Legat *from* Rome, *who at last arrived in* England *with his Commission, and being much troubled with the Gout, his journey was long and tedious ere he could get to* London, *who should have been most solemnly received at* Black-heath; *but he desired not to be so entertained with pomp and vain-glory; and therefore*

he

he came very privately on his own Horſe without Temple-Bar *called* Bath-place, *where he lay, The Houſe being furniſhed of all manner of Proviſion of my Lords. So after ſome deliberation and conſultation in the ordering of the Kings buſineſs now in hand by his Commiſſion and Articles of the Embaſſage, which being read, it was determined that the King and the good Queen his lawful Wife, ſhould be judged at* Bridewell *and in* Black-friers, *and ſome place thereabouts the Court, to be kept for the diſputation and determination of the cauſes and differences between the King and the Queen, where they were to repair before theſe two Legats, who ſat as Judges; before whom the King and Queen were cited and ſummoned to appear, which was a ſtrange ſight, and the neweſt deviſe that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle: A King and a Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court as common perſons within their own Realm and Dominions, and to abide the Judgments and Detrees of their Subjects, being a Prerogative belonging to the royal Diadem.*

CHAP. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the King's Case, two Cardinals being Judges, having power to convent the King and Queen; the issue thereof.

IT is a wonderful thing to consider the strength of Princes Wills when they are bent to have their pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable perswasions will serve the turn; how little do they regard the dangerous sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their subjects? And amongst all things there is nothing that makes them more wilful than Carnal Love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires, wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what Laws were enacted, what costly Edifices of noble and antient Monasteries were overthrown, what diversities of opinion then arose, what extortions were then committed, how many learned and good men were then put to Death, and what alterations of good antient Laws, Customs and charitable foundations were turned from the relief of the poor, to the utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble Realm.

It is a thousand pities to understand the things that since have hapned to this Land, the

the proof whereof hath taught all us *Englishmen* lamentable experience. If mens eys be not blind they may see, and if their ears be not stopped they may hear; and if pitty be not exiled, their hearts may relent and lament at the sequel of this inordinate Love, although it lasted but a while, *O Lord God withold thine indignation from us.*

You shall understand, as I said before, that there was a Court erected at *Black-Friers, London*, where these two Cardinals sate as Judges: Now will I describe unto you the order of the Court.

First, there were many Tables and Benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft, above them three degrees high was a cloth of Estate hanged, and a chair Royal under the same, wherein sate the King, and some distance off sate the Queen, and at the Judges feet sate the Scribes and Officers for the execution of the Process; the chief Scribe was Doctor *Stevens*, after Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Apparitour who was called Doctor of the Court, who was one *Cook* of *Westminster*. Then before the King, and the Judges sate the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Doctor *Warham*, and all other Bishops, there stood at both ends within, Counsellors learned in the Spiritual Laws; as well on the Kings side, as the Queens side. Doctor *Sampson*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, and Doctor *Hall*, after Bishop of *Worcester*, with divers others, and Proctors in the same

Kings Counsel.

same Law, were Doctor *Peter*, who was afterwards chief Secretary, and Doctor *Tregunmill* with divers others.

Queens Counsel.

Now on the other side, there were counsel for the Queen, Doctor *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Doctor *Standish* Bishop of St. *Asaph* in *Wales*, two brave Noble Divines, especially the Bishop of *Rochester* a very godly man, whose death many Noble men, and many worthy Divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause e're it was ended upon *Tower-Hill*, as also another antient Doctor called Doctor *Ridley*, a little man, but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered as is before expressed, the Judges commanded the Cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the Commission was both read to the Court and to the People there assembled: that done, and silence being again proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call *King Henry of England*, whereunto the King answered and said, *here*; Then called he again the Queen of *England* by the name of *Katherine Queen of England, come into the Court, &c.* Who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her chair where she sate: and because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at her feet, saying these words in broken *English*, as followeth, *viz.*

The Bishop of *Rochester* lost his head for the Queens sake.

The King and Queen called by the Cryer.

The Queen on her knees pleads for her self.

Sir quoth she, I beseech you do me justice and right, and take some pity upon me, for I

am

am a poor woman and a ſtranger, born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Counſel, and leſs aſſurance of friendſhip: Alas Sir, how have I offended you, what offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this ſort? I take God to witneſs, I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your will and pleaſure, never did I contrary or gainſay your mind, but alwayes ſubmitted my ſelf in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging, or any ſign of diſcontent: I have loved for your ſake all men whom you have loved, whether I had cauſe or not, were they friends or foes; I have been your Wife this twenty years, by whom you had many Children: And when I firſt came to your Bed, I take God to witneſs, I was a Virgin, whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conſcience, if there be any cauſe that you can alledge, either of diſhoneſty, or of any other matter, lawfully to put me from you, I am willing to depart with ſhame and rebuke: but if there be none, then I pray you let me have juſtice at your hands.

The King your Father was a man of ſuch an excellent wit in his time, that he was accounted a ſecond Solomon, *and the King of* Spain *my father* Ferdinand, *was taken for one of the wiſeſt Kings that raigned in* Spain *theſe many years. So they were both Wiſe men and Noble Princes; and it is no queſtion but they had Wiſe Counſellors of either Realms, as be now at this day, who thought at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new*

She commendeth K. Henry the 7.

deviſes are now invented againſt me, to cauſe me to ſtand to the order of this Court. And I conceive you do me much wrong, may you condemn me for not anſwering, having no Counſel but ſuch as you aſſigned me: You muſt conſider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your own Subjects, and ſuch as you have made choice of out of your own Council whereunto they are privy, and dare not diſcloſe your pleaſure.

Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech you to ſpare me untill I know how my friends in Spain *will adviſe me: But if you will not, then let your pleaſure be done.*

And with that ſhe roſe making a low Curteſie to the King, and departed from thence: all the people thinking ſhe would have returned again to her former Seat; but ſhe went preſently out of the Court leaning upon the arm of one of her Servants, who was her general receiver, one Mr. *Griffith.*

The King ſeeing that ſhe was ready to go out of the Court, commanded the Cryer to call her again by theſe words, *Katherine Queen of England, come into the Court.* Loe, quoth Mr. *Griffith*, you are called again: Go on quoth ſhe, it is no matter, It is no indifferent Court for me, therefore I will not tarry, go on your way; and ſo they departed without any further anſwer at that time, or any appearance in any other Court after that.

She goes out of the Court.

The King ſeeing ſhe was departed thus, and conſidering her words, ſaid to the

Audi-

Audience these few words in effect.

Forasmuch quoth he, as the Queen is gone, I will in her absence declare unto you all: she hath been to me a true obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire, she hath all the vertues and good qualities that belong to a woman of her Dignity, or in any of meaner estate, her conditions will well declare the same. The Kings commendations of his Queen in her absence.

Then quoth my Lord Cardinal, I humbly beseech your Highness to declare unto this Audience, whether I have been the first and chief mover of this matter unto your Highness or no, for I am much suspected of all men.

My Lord Cardinal quoth the King, you have rather advised me to the contrary than been any mover of the same. The special cause that moved me in this matter, is a certain scruple that pricked my Conscience, upon certain words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon* the *French* Embassadour, who came hither to consult of a marriage between the Princess our Daughter the Lady *Mary* and the Duke of *Orleans* second Son to the King of *France*, and upon resolution and determination, he desired respite to advertise the King his Master thereof, whether our Daughter *Mary* should be legitimate in respect of my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my Brothers wife, which words (I pondering) begot such a scruple in my Conscience that I was much troubled at it, whereby I thought my self in danger of The King declares himself to the whole Court.

of Gods heavy displeasure, and indignation, and the rather because he sent us no issue male, for all the issue Male that I have had by my wife dyed incontinently after they came into the world, which caused me to fear Gods displeasure in that particular. Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of troublesome doubts, and partly in despair to have any other Issue, than I had already by this Lady my now Wife: It behoved me to consider the estate of this Realm, and the danger it stands in for lack of a Prince to succeed me. I thought it therefore good, in release of this mighty burthen on my Conscience, as also for the quiet estate of this Realm, to attempt a tryal in the Law herein: Whether I might lawfully take another wife without carnal concupiscence, by which God may send more Issue, in case this my first copulation was not good: I not having any displeasure in the person, or age of the Queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue, (if our Marriage may stand with the Law of God) as with any woman alive, in which point consisteth all the doubt that we go about, now to know by the learned wisdom of you our Prelates and Pastors, of this Realm and Dominion now here assembled for that purpose, to whose Consciences and Learning I have committed the care and Judgment, according to which I will (God willing) be well contented to submit my self: And obey the same: And when my Conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you my Lord of *Lincoln*

All the Kings Issue Male by the Queen dyed.

The chief point in the Kings case.

The King affirms he hath no dislike of the Queen.

Lincoln in confeſſion, then being my Ghoſtly Father: And forasmuch, as you were then in ſome doubt, you moved me to ask Counſel of the reſt of the Biſhops, whereupon I moved it to you my Lord Cardinal to have your Licence, for as much as you are Metropolitan, to put this matter in queſtion, and ſo I did to all you my Lords, to which you all granted under your Seals, which is here to ſhew, that is truth quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not but my Brothers will acknowledge the ſame. No Sir, not ſo, under correction, quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, for you have not my hand and Seal, no quoth the King, Is not this your hand and Seal, and ſhewed it to him in the Inſtrument with Seals? No forſooth quoth the Biſhop, how ſay you to that, quoth the King, to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*? Sir, It is his hand and Seal, quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. No my Lord quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and Seal, as other of the Lords had done, but I anſwered I would never conſent to any ſuch act, for it was much againſt my Conſcience, and therefore my hand and Seal ſhall never be ſet to ſuch an Inſtrument (God willing) with many other words to that purpoſe: You ſay truth quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſuch words you uſed, but you were fully reſolved at the laſt that I ſhould ſubſcribe your Name, and put to your Seal, and you would allow of the ſame, all which quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, under

The King produceth the Licence ſealed by the Cardinal and the reſt of the Biſhops.

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* doth deny that ever he ſealed or ſubſcribed.

under correction my Lord is untrue: Well quoth the King, we will not stand in argument with you, you are but one: And so the King arose up, and the Court was adjourned untill the next day, at which time the Cardinals sate again, and the Council on both sides were there present to answer.

The Court adjourned.

The Kings council alledge the Matrimony not good nor lawful.

The Kings Council alledg the matrimony not good nor lawful at the beginning: Because of the carnal Copulat on that Prince *Arthur* had with the Queen: This matter was very narrowly scanned on that side, and to prove the Carnal Copulation they had many Reasons and similitudes of truth, and being answered negatively again on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were doubtful to be tryed, and that no man knew. Yes quoth the Bishop of *Rochister* I know the truth, how can you know the truth quoth the Cardinal, more than any other person? Yes forsooth my Lord quoth he, I know that God is the truth it self, and never saith but truth, and he saith thus. *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.* And forasmuch as this marriage was joined and made by God to a good intent, therefore I said I knew the truth, and that man cannot break upon any wilful action that which God hath made and constituted: So much do all faithful men know quoth my Lord Cardinal, aswel as you, therefore this reason is not sufficient in this case, for the Kings Counsel do alledg many presumptions to prove that it was not lawful

The Queens Counsel speak.

Bishop of *Rochester.*

lawful at the beginning, *Ergo*, it was not ordained by God, for God doth nothing without a good end. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the presumptions be true which they alledg to be most true, then the conjunction neither was nor could be of God. Therefore I say unto you my Lord of *Rochester*, you know not the truth unless you can avoid their presumptions upon just reasons.

Then quoth Dr. *Ridley*, it is a great shame and dishonour to this honourable presence, that such presumptions should be alledged in this open Court, what quoth my Lord Cardinal *Domine Doctor Reverende*. No my Lord there belongs no reverence to this matter, for an unreverent matter may be unreverently answered: And so left off, and then they proceeded to other matters. Thus passed this Court from Session to Session, and day to day, till a certain day the King sent for the Cardinal to *Bridewel*, who went into the Privie Chamber to him where he was, about an hour, and then departed from the King and went to *Westminster* in his Barge, the Bishop of *Carlile* being with him said, it is a hot day to day, yea quoth the Cardinal if you had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour you would say you were very hot: my Lord no sooner came home but he went to bed, where he had not lyen above two hours, but my Lord of *Wiltshire*, Mistris *Anne Bullens* Father, came to speak with him from the King: my Lord commanded

Doctor *Ridley*.

The King sent for the Cardinal.

The Cardinal returns and goes home to bed.

commanded he ſhould be brought to his beds ſide, who told him it was the Kings minde he ſhould forthwith goe with the Cardinal to the Queen, being then at *Bridewel* in her Chamber, and to perſwade her through their wiſedoms to put the whole matter into the Kings own hands, by her conſent, which ſhould be much better for her honour, than ſtand to the tryal at Law, and thereby be condemned, which would tend much to her diſhonour and diſcredit.

To performe the Kings pleaſure, my Lord ſaid he was ready and ſo prepared to goe, but quoth he further to my Lord of *Wiltſhire* you and others of the Counſell, have put fancies into the head of the King, whereby you trouble all the Realme, but at the length you will get but ſmall thanks both of God and the world, with many other earneſt words and reaſons, which did cauſe my Lord of *Wiltſhire* to be ſilent kneeling by my Lords beds-ſide, and in concluſion departed.

The two Cardinals went on meſſage from the King to the Queene.

And then my Lord roſe and took his Barge and went to Bath-houſe to Cardinal *Campaines*, and ſo went together to *Bridewel* to the Queens Lodgings, ſhe being then in her Chamber of Preſence they told the Gentleman-Uſher that they came to ſpeak with the Queens grace, who told the Queene the Cardinals were come to ſpeak with her, then ſhe aroſe up having a ſcane of red ſilke about her neck (being at worke with her maides) and came to the Cardinals, where they

they ſtayed attending her comming, at whoſe approach quoth ſhe. Alack my Lords, I am ſorry that you have attended on me ſo long, what is your pleaſures with me? If it pleaſe your Grace, quoth the Cardinal, to go to your priuy Chamber, we will ſhew you the cauſe of our comming.

My Lord ſaid ſhe, if you have any thing to ſay to me ſpeak it openly before all theſe folke, for I fear nothing that you can ſay to me or againſt me, but that I am willing all the world ſhould both ſee and hear it, and therefore ſpeake your minds openly.

The Cardinal declares the cauſe of their going.

Then began my Lord to ſpeak to her in Latin: nay good my Lord ſpeak to me in Engliſh, quoth ſhe, although I doe underſtand ſome Latine: forſooth quoth my Lord good Madam if it pleaſe your Grace, we come both to know your minde what you are diſpoſed to doe in this matter, and alſo to declare to you ſecretly our Counſels and opinions, which we do for very zeale and obedience to your Grace.

Queens anſwer.

My Lords quoth ſhe, I thanke you for your good wills, but to make anſwer to your requeſts I cannot ſo ſuddenly, for I was ſet amongſt my maids at work, little thinking of any ſuch matter, wherein is requiſite ſome deliberation, and a better head than mine to make anſwer, for I need Counſel in this caſe which concerns me ſo near, and friends here I have none, they are in *Spain* in mine own Countrey: Alſo my Lords, I am a poor woman of too weak capacity to

anſwer

anſwer ſuch noble perſons of wiſdome as you are, in ſo weighty a matter. And therefore be good to me a woman deſtitute of friendſhip here in a forreign Region, and your Counſel I alſo ſhall be glad to hear, and therewith ſhe took my Lord by the hand and led him into her Privy Chamber, with the other Cardinal, where they ſtayed a while, and I heard her voice loud, but what ſhe ſaid I know not.

This done, they went to the King, and made a Relation unto him of the paſſages between the Queen and them, and ſo they departed.

This ſtrange caſe proceeded and went forwards from Court day to Court day, untill it came to that, that every man expected to heare Judgment given, at which time all their proceedings were openly read in Latin. That done, the Kings Counſel at the Bar moved for Judgment, quoth Cardinal *Campaines*, I will not give judgment untill I have related the whole proceedings to the Pope, whoſe counſel and commandement I will in this Caſe obſerve: The matter is too high for us to give haſty judgment, conſidering the perſons and the doubtful occaſions alledged, and alſo whoſe Commiſſioners we are, by whoſe authority we ſit.

Cardinal *Campaines* refuſed to giv. judgment.

It is good reaſon therefore that we make our chief Lord or Counſel in the ſame before we proceed to Judgment definitive: I came not to pleaſe for any favour, reward, or fear of any perſon alive, be he King or otherwiſe

He makes a ſpeech.

otherwiſe, I have no ſuch reſpect to the perſon, that I ſhould offend my conſcience. And the party Defendant will make no anſwer here: but rather doth appeal from us; I am an old man both weak and ſickly, and look every day for Death; what ſhall it avail me to put my Soul in danger of Gods diſpleaſure to my utter damnation, for the favour of any Prince in this world? My being here is only to ſee Juſtice adminiſtred according to my conſcience.

The Defendant ſuppoſeth that we be not indifferent Judges, conſidering the Kings high dignity and authority within his Realm. And we being both his Subjects, ſhe thinks we will not do her juſtice: and therefore to avoid all theſe *Ambiguities*, I adjourn the Court for the Time according to the Court of *Rome*, from whence our juriſdiction is derived: For if we ſhould goe further than our Commiſſion doth warrant us, it were but a folly and blame worthy; becauſe than we ſhall be breakers of the Orders from whom we have (as I ſaid) our authority derived; and ſo the Court was diſſolved and no more done.

Thereupon by the Kings Commandement ſtept up the Duke of *Suffolk*, and with a haughty countenance uttered theſe words: The Duke of *Suffolk* affronted the Cardinals.

It was never thus in England untill we had Cardinals amongſt us. Which words were ſet forth with ſuch vehemency, that all men marvailed what he intended. the

Duke further expreſſing ſome opprobious words.

The Cardinals mild anſwer.

My Lord Cardinal perceiving his vehemency, ſoberly ſaid: Sir, of all men in this Realm you have leaſt cauſe to diſpraiſe Cardinals, for if I poor Cardinal had not been, you ſhould not at this preſent have had a head upon your ſhoulders, wherewith to make ſuch a brag in diſpute of us, who wiſh you no harm; neither have given you ſuch cauſe to be offended with us. I would have you think my Lord, I and my Brother wiſh the King as much happineſs, and the Realm as much honour, Wealth and peace as you, or any other Subject of what degree ſoever he be within this Realm, and would as gladly accompliſh his lawfull deſires.

His reaſon why he proceeds not to judgment.

And now my Lord, I pray you ſhew me what you would do in ſuch a Caſe as this, if you were one of the Kings Commiſſioners in a forraign Region about ſome weighty matter, the conſultation whereof was very doubtful to be decided; would you not advertiſe the Kings Majeſty ere you went through with the ſame? I doubt not but you would, and therefore abate your malice and ſpight, and conſider we are Commiſſioners for a time, and cannot by vertue of a Commiſſion proceed to judgment without the knowledge and conſent of the head of the authority and licence obtained from him who is the Pope.

Therefore do we neither more nor leſs than our Commiſſion allows us: and if a-

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ny man will be offended with us, he is an unwise man: Therefore pacify your self my Lord, and speak like a man of Honour and Wisdom, (or hold your peace) speak not reproachfully of your friends, you best know what friendship I have shown you: I never did reveal to any person till now, either to mine own praise or your dishonour. Whereupon the Duke went his way, and said no more, being much discontented.

The Duke departed discontented.

This matter continued thus a long Season, and the King was in displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, because his Suit had no better success to his purpose.

The King offended.

Notwithstanding the Cardinal excused himself by his Commission which gave him no authority to proceed to judgement without the knowledge of the Pope, who reserved the same to himselfe. At last they were advertised by a Post that they should take deliberation in the matter untill his Counsel were opened, which should not be till *Bartholomew-tide* next.

The Cardinals Commission his excuse.

The King thinking it would be too long ere it would be determined, sent an Embassadour to the Pope to perswade him to shew so much favour to his Majesty, as that it might be sooner determined.

On this Embassage went Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, then called by the name of Doctor *Steven*, Secretary to the King, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*. This Embassadour stayed there till the later end of Summer, of whose return you shall hereafter heare.

Dr. *Gardener* sent Embassador to the Pope.

CHAP. XVII.

Of certain paſſages conducing to the Cardinals fall.

NOw the King commanded the Queen to be removed from the Court, and ſent to another place, and preſently after the King rode on Progreſs, and had in his company Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne*; in which time Cardinal *Campaine* made ſuite to be diſcharged and ſent home to *Rome*: and in the interim returned Mr. Secretary; and it was concluded that my L. ſhould come to the King to *Graſton* in *Northampton-ſhire*; as alſo Cardinal *Campaine* being a ſtranger, ſhould be conducted thither by my Lord Cardinal. And ſo the next Sunday there were divers opinions that the King would not ſpeak with my Lord; whereupon there were many great Wagers laid,

The Cardinal ſent for to the Court.

Theſe two Prelates being come to the Court, and lighting, expected to be received of the great Officers, as the manner was, but they found the contrary: Nevertheleſs becauſe the Cardinal *Campaine* was a ſtranger, the Officers met him with ſtaves in their hands in the outward Court, and ſo conveyed him to his lodging prepared for him; and after my Lord had brought him to his lodging he departed, thinking to have gone to his chamber as he was wont to doe.

But

But it was told him he had no lodging or chamber appointed for him in the Court, which newes did much astonish him. He found but small content.

Sir *Henry Norris* who was then Groom of the stool, came unto him, and desired him to take his Chamber for a while untill another was provided for him, for I assure you, quoth he, here is but little room in this House for the King, and therefore I humbly beseech your Grace accept of mine for a season. My Lord thanking him for his curtesie, went to his chamber, where he shifted his riding apparel.

In the mean time came divers Noblemen of his friends to welcome him to the Court, by whom my Lord was advertised of all things touching the Kings favour or displeasure; and being thus informed of the cause thereof, he was more able to excuse himselfe.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the chamber of Presence with the other Cardinal, where the Lords of the Counsel stood all of a Row in order in the chamber, and all the Lords saluted them both: And there were present many Gentlemen which came on purpose to observe the meeting and countenance of the King to my Lord Cardinal: Then immediately after, the King came into the chamber of Presence standing under the cloth of State. Great supposition of the Kings displeasure.

Then my Lord Cardinal took Cardinal *Campaine* by the hand, and kneeled down before the King, but what he said unto him,

I know not, but his countenance was amiable, and his Majesty stooped down, and with both his hands took him up, and then took him by the hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

Then to have beheld the countenance of the Lords and Noblemen that had laid Wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had laid their Mony that the King would not speak with him.

Thus were they deceived, for the King was in earnest discourse with him, insomuch that I told the King, how can this be, is not this your hand, and pulled a Letter out of his own bosome and shewed the same to my Lord. And as I perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King had no more to say; but said to my Lord Cardinal go to your dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will speak further with you, and so they departed. And the King that day dined with Mistris *Anne Bulloigne* in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the Presence-chamber a Table for my Lord, and other Lords of the Counsel, where they dined together; and sitting at Dinner telling of divers matters, The King should do well, quoth my Lord Cardinal, to send his Bishops and Chaplains home to their Cures and Benefices. Yea marry, quoth my Lord of *Norfolke*, and so it were meete for you to do also. I would

would be very well contented therewith, quoth my Lord, if it were the Kings pleasure to licence me with his Graces leave to goe to my cure at *Winchester*: Nay, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, to your Benefice at *York*; where your greatest Honour and charge is. Even as it shall please the King, quoth my Lord Cardinal: and so they fell upon other Discourses. For indeed the Nobility were loth he should be so near the King, as to continue at *Winchester*. Immediately after Dinner they fell to counsell till the Waiters had also dined.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the King at dinner, that Mistris *Anne Bulloigne* was offended as much as she durst, that the King did so graciously entertain my Lord Cardinal, saying, *Sir, Is it not a marvailous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you, with all your Subjects?* How so, quoth the King? *Forsooth quoth she, there is not a man in all your whole Realm of* England, *worth a hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him,* (*meaning of Loan, which the King had of his Subjects.*) Well, well, quoth the King for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you, or any else.

Mistris *Anne Bulloign* offended for the Cardinals entertainment.

She complains of him.

Nay, quoth she, besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts and places of this Realm, to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a Nobleman, but if he had done halfe so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my Lord

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of Norfolk, *my Lord of* Suffolk, *my Father, or any other man had done much leſſe than he hath done, they ſhould have loſt their heads ere this.*

Then I perceive (quoth the King) you are none of my Lord Cardinals friends. Why Sir, quoth ſhe, I have no cauſe, nor any that love you; No more hath your Grace, if you did well conſider his indirect and unlawful doings.

By that time the Waiters had dined and took up the Table, and ſo for that time ended their Communication.

You may perceive by this how the old malice was not forgotten: but begins to kindle and be ſet on fire, which was ſtirred by his ancient enemies, whom I have formerly named in this treatiſe.

The King for that time departed from Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne*, and came to the chamber of Preſence, and called for my Lord, and in the great window had a long diſcourſe with him, but of what I know not, afterwards the King took him by the hand and led him into the privie Chamber, and ſate in conſultation with him all-alone without any other of the Lords, till it was dark night, which blanked all his enemies very ſore, who had no other way but by Mrs. *Anne Bulleigne*, in whom was all their truſt and affiance, for the accompliſhment of their enterpriſes, for without her they feared all their purpoſes would be fruſtrate.

Now

Now at night was warning given me, that there was no room for my Lord to lodge in the Court, ſo that I was forced to provide my Lord a lodging in the Countrey about *Eaſton* at one Mr. *Empſtons* houſe, where my Lord came to ſupper by Torch light, being late before my Lord parted from the King, who willed him to reſort to him in the morning, for that he would talk further with him about the ſame matter, and in the morning my Lord came again, at whoſe coming the Kings Majeſty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to conſult with the Lords in his abſence, and ſaid he would not talk with him, commanding my Lord to depart with Cardinal *Campaine*, who had already taken his leave of the King.

The King would not talk with the Cardinal.

This ſudden departure of the Kings, was the eſpecial labour of Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne* who rode with him purpoſely to draw him away, becauſe he ſhould not return t'll the departure of the Cardinals. The King rode that morning to view a piece of ground to make a Park of, which was afterwards, and is at this day called *Harewell Park*, where Mris. *Anne* had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my Lord Cardinals departure.

So my Lord rode away after dinner with Cardinal *Campaine*, who took his journey towards *Rome*, with the Kings reward, but what it was I am not certain.

After their departure, it was told the King, that Cardinal *Campaine* was departed, and had

had great Treasure with him of my Lord Cardinals of *England* to be conveyed in great sums to *Rome*, whither they surmized he would secretly repair out of this Realm. Insomuch that they caused a Post to ride after the Cardinal to search him, who overtook him at *Calis*, and stayed him until search was made, but there was found no more than was received of the King for a reward.

They search the Cardinal at *Calis*.

Now after Cardinal *Campaine* was gone, *Michaelmas* Term drew on, against which time my Lord Cardinal repaired to his house at *Westminster*, and when the Term began, he went into the Hall in such manner as he was accustomed to do, and sate in the Chancery being then Lord Chancellor of *England*, after which day he never sate more, the next day he stayed at home for the coming of the Lord of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who came not that day but the next: And did declare unto my Lord that it was the Kings pleasure he should surrender up the great Seal of *England* into their hands, and that he should depart unto *Asher*, which is a house near unto *Hampton-Court* belonging unto the Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

The K. sends for the Great Seal.

The Cardinal demanded of them to see their Commission that gave them such authority, who answered again, they were sufficient Commissioners, and had Authority to do no less from the Kings own mouth, notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their demand in that behalf, without further know-

knowledge of their Authority, telling them that the Great Seal was delivered to him by the Kings own perſon to enjoy the Miniſtration thereof, together with the Chancellourſhip during the term of his life, whereof for ſurety he had the Kings Letters Patents to ſhew, which matter was much debated between him and the Dukes with many great words which he took patiently, inſomuch that the Dukes were fain to depart without their purpoſe at that time, and returned to *Windſor* to the King, and the next day they returned to my Lord with the Kings Letters, whereupon in obedience to the Kings command, my Lord delivered to them the broad Seal, which they brought to *Windſor* to the King. He refuſeth to deliver up the Broad Seal.

Then my Lord called his Officers before him, and took account of all things they had in their charge, and in his Gallery were ſet divers Tables, upon which were laid divers and great ſtore of rich ſtuffes, as whole pieces of Silk of all colours, Velvets, Sattins, Musks, Taffaties, Grogarams, Scarlets, and divers rich commodities. As alſo there were 1000. *pieces of fine Hollands, and the hangings of the Gallery were cloth of Gold, and cloth of Silver, and rich cloth of Bodkin of divers colours which were hanged in expectation of the Kings coming.* The Cardinal ſets his Houſe in order.

Alſo of one ſide of the Gallery were hanged rich ſutes of Copes of his own providing, which were made for the Colledges at Oxford *and* Ipſwich, *they were the richeſt that ever I ſaw in all my life; Then had he two Chambers adjoyning to*

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the Gallery, the one most commonly called the gilt Chamber, the other the Council-Chamber, wherein were set two broad and long Tables, whereupon was set such abundance of Plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed, a great part being all of clean gold, and upon every Table and Cupboard where the Plate was set were Books importing every kind of plate, and every peice with the contents and the weight thereof.

Thus were all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of the said stuffe, with other things remaining in every Office, to be delivered to the King, as he gave charge, all things being ordered as is before rehearsed, my Lord prepared to depart, and resolved to go by water, but before his going Sir *William Gascoigne* being his Treasurer, came unto him, and said, Sir quoth he, I am sorry for your Grace, for I hear you are straight to go to the *Tower*; Is this the best comfort, quoth my Lord, you can give to your Master in adversity? It hath alwayes been your inclination to be light of credit, and much lighter in reporting of lyes, I would you should know Sir *William*, and all those reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there: Although it hath pleased the King to take my House ready furnished for his pleasure, at this time I would all the world should know, I have nothing but it is of right for him, and of him I received all that I have: It is therefore convenient and reason to tender the same to him again.

Then my Lord with his train of Gentlemen

men and Yeomen, which was no ſmall company, took his Barge at his private ſtairs, and went by water to *Putney*, at which time upon the water were abundance of Boats filled with people, expecting to have ſeen my Lord Cardinal go to the *Tower*, which they longed to ſee. Oh wondring and new-fangled world! Is it not a time to conſider the mutability of this uncertain world! for the common people ever deſire things for novelties ſake, which after turn to their ſmall profit and advantage. For if you mark the ſequel, they had ſmall cauſe to rejoyce at his fall. I cannot ſee but all men in favour are envied by the common people, though they do miniſter Juſtice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Aſher*, three or four weeks without either Beds, Sheets, Table-cloths, or Diſhes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there was good ſtore of all kind of Victuals, and of Beer and Wine plenty, but afterwards my Lord borrowed ſome Plate and Diſhes of the Biſhop of *Carlile*.

Thus continued my Lord in this ſtrange eſtate till after *Allhallantide*, and being one day at dinner, Mr. *Cromwell* told him that he ought in Conſcience to conſider the true and good ſervice, that he and other of his ſervants had done, who never forſook him in weal and woe, then quoth my Lord, alas *Tom*: you know I have nothing to give you nor them; which makes me both aſhamed and ſorry that I have nothing

to

to requite your faithful ſervices, whereupon Mr. *Cromwell* told my Lord that he had abundance of Chaplains, that were preferred by his Grace to Benefices of ſome 1000. pound, and others 500. pound, ſome more and ſome leſs; and we your poor ſervants who take more pains in one dayes ſervice, than all your idle Chaplains have done in a year, and therefore if they will not impart liberally to you in your great indigence, it is pity they ſhould live, and all the world will have them in indignation for their great ingratitude to their Maſter.

Afterwards my Lord commanded me to call all his Gentlemen and Yeomen up into the great Chamber, commanding all the the Gentlemen to ſtand on the right hand, and the Yeomen on the left ſide: at laſt my Lord came out in his Rochet, upon a Violet Gown like a Biſhop, who went with his Chaplains to the upper end of the Chamber where was a great window, beholding his goodly number of ſervants, who could not ſpeak to them until the tears ran down his cheeks, which being perceived of his ſervants, cauſed fountains of tears to guſh out of their ſorrowful eyes, in ſuch ſort as would cauſe my heart to relent.

He ſpeaks to them all.

At laſt my Lord ſpake to them to this effect and purpoſe, ſaying, Moſt faithful Gentlemen and true-hearted Yeomen, I much lament that in my proſperity I did not ſo much for you as I might have done, and, and was in my power to do. I conſider

consider that if in my prosperity I should have preferred you to the King, then should I have incurred the Kings Servants displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back that there could no Office in the Court escape the Cardinal and his Servants, and by that means I should have run into open slander of all the world, but now it is come to pass: that it hath pleased the King to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have now nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me but the bare cloaths on my back, with many other words in their phrase, and so he giving them all hearty thanks, went away, and afterwards many of his servants departed from him, some to their Wives, some to their friends, Master *Cromwell* to *London*, it being then the beginning of the Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Cardinal is accuſed of high Treaſon in the Parliament Houſe, againſt which accuſation Mr. Cromwell *(late Servant to him) being a Burgeſs in the Parliament made defence.*

THe aforeſaid Maſter *Cromwell* after his departure from my Lord, deviſed with himſelf to be one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament: And being at *London* he chanced to meet one Sir *Thomas Ruſſell* Knight, a ſpecial friend of his, whoſe ſon was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament, of whom by means he obtained his room, and ſo put his feet into the Parliament Houſe, and three dayes after his departure from my Lord, he came again to *Aſhur*, and I being there with my Lord, he ſaid unto me with a pleaſant countenance: I have adventured my feet where I will be better regarded ere the Parliament be diſſolved: And after he had ſome talk with my Lord, he made haſt to *London*, becauſe he would not be abſent from the Parliament, to the intent he might acquaint my Lord what was there objected againſt him, thereby the better to make his defence, inſomuch that there was nothing at any time objected againſt my Lord, but he was ready to

He informed his Lord what was objected againſt him.

to make answer thereunto, by means whereof he being earnest in his Masters behalf, was reputed the most faithful servant to his Master of all other, and was generally of all men highly commended.

Then was there brought a Bill of Articles into the Parliament House to have my Lord condemned of high Treason, against which Bill Master *Cromwell* did inveigh so discreetly, and with such witty persuasions, that the same would take no effect; Then were his Enemies constrained to indite him of a Premunire, and all was to intitle the King to all his Goods and Possessions, which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his Colledges of *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, which were both most sumptuous buildings. To the Judges that were sent to take my Lords answer herein, he thus answered.

Articles against the Cardinal disanulled by Mr. *Cromwell*.

They charge him with a Premunire.

Judges sent to examine the Cardinal.

My Lords Judges, quoth he, the King knoweth, whether I have offended or no in using my Prerogative, for the which I am indicted, I have the Kings License in my Coffer to shew under his hand and broad Seal, for the executing and using thereof in most large manner, the which now are in the hands of mine Enemies, but because I will not here stand to contend with his Majesty in his own Case, I will here presently before you confess the Indictment, and put my self wholly to the mercy and Grace of the King, trust-

His answer.

The Cardinal doth submit to the King.

ing that he hath a Conſcience and Reaſon to conſider the truth, and my humble ſubmiſſion and obedience wherein I might well ſtand to my Tryal with Juſtice. Thus much may you ſay to his Highneſs, that I wholly ſubmit my ſelf under his obedience in all things to his Princely will and pleaſure, whom I never diſobeyed or repugned, but was alwayes contented and glad to pleaſe him before God; whom I ought moſt chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent: I moſt heartily deſire you to have me commended to him, for whom I ſhall, during my life, pray to God to ſend him much proſperity, honour and victory over his Enemies. And ſo they left him.

After which Mr. *Shelley* the Judge was ſent to ſpeak with my Lord, who underſtanding he was come, iſſued out of his Privy Chamber, and came to him to know his buſineſs, who after due ſalutation did declare unto him that the Kings pleaſure was to demand my Lords Houſe called *York-place* neer *Weſtminſter* belonging to the Biſhop ick of *York*. And that you do paſs the ſame according to the Laws of this Realm, his Highneſs hath ſent for all his Judges and learned Counſel to know their opinions for your aſſurance thereof, who be fully reſolved that your Grace muſt make a Recognizance, and before a Judge acknowledge and confeſs the right thereof to

The King demands *York-houſe*.

to belong to the King and his Succeſſors, and ſo his Highneſs ſhall be aſſured thereof.

Wherefore it hath pleaſed the King to ſend me hither to take of you the Recognizance, having in your Grace ſuch affiance that you will not refuſe to do ſo, therefore I do deſire to know your Graces pleaſure therein.

Maſter *Shelley* quoth my Lord, I know the King of his own nature is of a Royal ſpirit, not requiring more than reaſon ſhall lead him to by the Law. And therefore I counſel you and all other Judges and learned men of his Council to put no more into his head than Law, that may ſtand with Conſcience; for when you tell him, that although this be Law, yet it is not Conſcience, for Law without Conſcience is not fit to be miniſtred by a King nor his Council, nor by any of his Miniſters, for every Council to a King ought to have reſpect to Conſcience before the rigour of Law: *Laus eſt facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The King ought for his Royal Dignitie and Prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the Law, and therefore in his Princely place he hath conſtituted a Chancellor, to order for him the ſame, and therefore the Court of Chancerie hath been commonly called the Court of Conſcience, for that it hath juriſdiction to command the Law in every caſe, to deſiſt from the rigour of

The Cardinal's anſwer.

the execution: And now I ſay to you, Maſter *Shelley*, have I a power, or may I with Conſcience give that away which is now mine for me and my Succeſſors? if this be Law and Conſcience, I pray you ſhew me your opinion.

Forſooth, quoth he, there is no great Conſcience in it, but having regard to the Kings great power, it may the better ſtand with Conſcience, who is ſufficient to recompence the Church of *York* with the double value.

That I know well, quoth my Lord, but there is no ſuch condition, but only a bare and ſimple departure of others rights; if every Biſhop ſhould do ſo, then might every Prelate give away the Patrimonie of the Church, and ſo in proceſs of time, leave nothing for their Succeſſors to maintain their Dignities, which would be but little to the Kings Honor.

Well, quoth my Lord, let me ſee your Commiſſion, which was ſhewed to him; then, quoth my Lord, tell his Highneſs that I am his moſt faithful Subject and obedient Beadſman, whoſe command I will in no wiſe diſobey, but will in all things fulfil his pleaſure, as you the Fathers of the Law ſay I may; Therefore I charge your Conſcience to diſcharge me, and ſhew his Highneſs from me, that I muſt deſire his Majeſtie to remember there is both Heaven and Hell; and thereupon the Clark took and

wrote

wrote the Recognizance, and after some secret talk they departed.

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashur*, receiving daily messages from the Court, some good, and some bad, but more ill than good; for his Enemies perceiving the good affection the King bare alwayes to him, devised a means to disquiet his patience, thinking thereby to give him occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue than otherwise, which they most desired, for they feared him more after his fall, *then they did in his prosperity, fearing that he should, by reason of the Kings favour rise again; and be again in favour, and great at the Court; they his Enemies might be in danger of their lives for their cruelty wrongfully ministred unto him, and by their malitious surmises invented and brought to pass against him: And did continually find new matters against him to make him vex and fret, but he was a wise man, and did arm himself with much patience.*

At *Christmass* he fell very sore sick, most likely to die, the King hearing thereof, was very sorrie, and sent Dr. *Butts* his Physitian unto him, who found him very dangerously sick in bed, and returned to the King. The King demanded, saying, Have you seen yonder man? yes Sir, quoth he: How do you like him, quoth the King: Sir, quoth he, if you will have him dead, I will warrant you he will be dead within these four daies, if he receive no comfort from you shortly. He fell sick. The King sends his Physitian.

Marry God forbid, quoth the King, that he ſhould die, for I would not loſe him for 20000 pounds. I pray goe to him, and do your care to him.

Then muſt your Grace, quoth Doctor *Buts*, ſend him ſome comfortable meſſage; So I will, quoth the King by you; therefore make ſpeed to him again, and you ſhall deliver him this Ring from me for a Token. In the which Ring was the Kings Image engraven with a Ruby as like the King, as might be deviſed; This Ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the ſame; and tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart for any thing. And that ſhall be known ſhortly; therefore bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort? And I charge you come not from him till you have brought him out of the danger of death, if it be poſſible.

The K. ſends his Ring in token of favour.

Then ſpake the King to Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne*, good ſweet heart as you love me, ſend the Cardinal a token at my requeſt, and in ſo doing you ſhall deſerve our thanks: ſhe being diſpoſed not to offend the King, would not diſobey his loving requeſt; but took incontinently her Tablet of Gold that hung at her ſide, and delivered it to Doctor *Buts*, with very gentle and loving Words; and ſo he departed to *Aſher* with ſpeed; and after him the King ſent Doctor *Crowmer*, Doctor *Clement*, and Doctor *Wotton* to conſult and adviſe with Doctor *Buts* for my Lords recovery.

And Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne* her Tablet.

Now

Now after Doctor *Buts* had been with him, and delivered him the Tokens from the King and Miſtris *Anne Bulloigne*, with the moſt comfortable words he could deviſe on the Kings and Miſtris *Annes* behalfe, he advanced himſelf in his bed, and received the Tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his pains and good comfort, he told him further, that the Kings pleaſure was, that he ſhould miniſter unto him for his health. And for the better and more aſſured waies, he hath alſo ſent Doctor *Cromer*, Doctor *Clement*, and Doctor *Wotton*, all to joine for your recovery. Therefore my Lord, quoth Doctor *Buts*, it were well they were called to viſit you and to conſult with them for your diſeaſe.

At which motion my Lord was contented, and ſent for them to heare their judgments; but he truſted more to Doctor *Cromer* than all the reſt, becauſe he was the very means to bring him from *Paris* to *England*, and gave him partly his exhibition in *Paris*. To be ſhort, in four daies they ſet him again upon his feet, and he had gotten him a good ſtomack to meat. All this done, and my Lord in a right good way of amendment, they took their leaves and departed, to whom my Lord offered his Reward: but they refuſed, ſaying, the King hath given a ſpecial Commandement that they ſhould take nothing of him, for

In four days they cured him

for at their return he would reward them of his own coſt.

After this, my Lord continued at *Aſher* till Candle-maſs, before and againſt which Feaſt, the King cauſed to be ſent to my Lord three or four loads of ſtuffe; and moſt thereof, except Beds and Kitchin-ſtuffe, was loaded in ſtandars, wherein was both Plate and rich Hangings, and Chappel-ſtuffe, which was done without the knowledge of the Lords of the Counſel; for all which, he rendered the King moſt humble and hearty thanks: And afterwards made ſuit unto the King to be removed from *Aſher* to *Richmond*, which requeſt was granted.

The King ſent three or four loads of houſhold ſtuffe.

The Houſe of *Richmond* a little before was repaired by my Lord to his great coſt, for the King had made an exchange with him for *Hampton-Court*. Had the Lords of the Counſel known of theſe favours from the King to the Cardinal, they would have perſwaded the King to the contrary, for they feared leaſt his now abode near the King might move the King at ſome ſeaſon to reſort unto him, and to call him home again conſidering the great and daily affection the King bare unto him. Therefore they moved the King that my Lord might goe down to the *North*, to his benefice there, where he might be a good ſtay (as they alledged) to the Country, to which the King condeſcended, thinking no leſs but that

that all had been true according to their relation, being with ſuch colour of deep conſideration, that the King was ſtraightway perſwaded to their concluſion; whereupon my Lord of *Norfolke* by Maſter *Cromwel* who daily did reſort to my Lord, that he ſhould ſay to him that he muſt goe home to his Benefice, well then *Thomas*, quoth my Lord, we will goe then to *Wincheſter*: I will then, quoth Maſter *Cromwel*, tell my Lord of *Norfolke* what you ſay, and ſo he did at his next meeting of him: what ſhould he do there, quoth the Duke? let him goe to the rich Biſhoprick of *York*; where his greateſt honour and charge lyeth, and ſo ſhew to him: The Lords who were not his friends perceiving that my Lord was diſpoſed to plant himſelf ſo nigh the King, thought then to withdraw his appetite from *Wincheſter*, moved the King to give my Lord a Penſion of four thouſand markes out of *Wincheſter*, and all the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt the Nobility and his Servants: And ſo likewiſe to divide the Revenues of St. *Albans*, whereof ſome had 200 pound, and all his Revenues of his lands belonging to his Colledge at *Oxford*, and *Ipſwitch* the King took into his own hands; whereof Maſter *Cromwel* had the receit and government before by my Lords aſſignment, whereof it was thought very neceſſary that he ſhould have the ſame ſtill, who executed all things ſo well and exactly,

that

that he was had in great eſtimation for his behaviour therein.

Now it came to paſs that thoſe to whom the King had given any annuities or fees for term of life, or by Patent, could not be good but only for and during my Lords life, forasmuch as the King had no longer eſtate therein, but what he had by my Lords attainder in the Premunire: And to make their eſtate good and ſufficient, there was no other way but to obtain my Lords confirmation of their Patents: And to bring this about, there was no other means but by Maſter *Cromwel*, who was thought the fitteſt Inſtrument for this purpoſe, and for his pains therein he was worthily rewarded: and his demeanour, his honeſty and wiſdom was ſuch, that the King took great notice of him, as you ſhall hereafter heare.

Still the Lords thought long till my Lord was removed further off the Kings way, wherefore among others of the Lords, my Lord of *Norfolk* ſaid, Maſter *Cromwel* methinks the Cardinal thy Maſter makes no haſte to goe Northwards, tell him, if he goe not away I will teare him with my teeth: Therefore I would adviſe him to prepare away with ſpeed, or elſe I will ſet him forwards. Theſe words reported Mr. *Cromwel* to my Lord at his next repaire, which was then at *Richmond*, having obtained licence of the King to remove from

Aſher

Aſhur to *Richmond*, and in the evening my Lord being accuſtomed to walke in the Garden, and I being with him ſtanding in an alley, I eſpied certain Images of Beaſts counterfeited in Timber, which I went nearer to take the better view of them, among whom I there ſaw ſtand a dunn Cow where at I moſt muſed of all thoſe beaſts: My Lord then ſuddenly came upon me unawares, and ſpeaking to me ſaid, what have you ſpied there whereat you look ſo earneſtly?

Forſooth quoth I, if it pleaſe your Grace, I here behold theſe Images which I ſuppoſe were ordained to be ſet up in the Kings palace, but amongſt them all I have moſt conſidered this Cow which ſeems to me the Artificers Maſter-piece. Yea marry quoth my Lord, upon this Cow hangs a certain Propheſie which perhaps you never heard of, I will ſhew you there is a ſaying. A Propheſie.

When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then Prieſt beware thy Scull.

When the Cow rides the Bull, Then Prieſt beware thy Scull.

Which ſaying, neither my Lord that declared it, nor I that heard it, underſtood the effect, although the compaſs thereof was working, and then like to be brought to paſs: this Cow the King gave by reaſon of the Earldome of *Richmond* which was Inheritance: This Propheſie was afterwards expounded in this manner, The dunn Cow

because

because it is the Kings beast, betokens the King, and the Bull betokens Mistris *Anne Bullosgne*, who after was Queen, her Father gave the black Bulls head in his Cognizance, and was his beast, so that when the King had married Queen *Anne*, it was thought of all men to be fulfilled, for what a number of Priests, Religious and Secular, lost their heads for offending of those laws made, to bring this matter to pass is not unknown to all the world, therefore it may well be judged that this prophesie is fulfilled.

The Propheſies expounded.

And fulfilled by the Cardinals fall.

You have heard what words the Duke of *Norfolke* spake to Master *Cromwel* touching my Lords going into the North; then said my Lord, *Tom*, It is time to be going, therefore I pray you goe to the King, and tell him I would goe to my Benefice at *York*, but for lack of monys, desiring his Grace to help him to some, and you may say the last mony I had from his Grace was too little to pay my debts, and to compell me to pay the rest of my debts is too much extremity, seeing all my goods are taken from me: Also shew my Lord of *Norfolke* and the rest of the Counsel, that I would depart if I had money. Sir, quoth Master *Cromwel*, I shall doe my best, and so after other communication departed and came to *London*: then in the beginning of *Lent*, my Lord removed his lodging into the Charterhouse at *Richmond*, where he lay

in

in a lodging that Doctor *Collet* made for himself, and every after-noon for the time of his Residence there, would he sit in contemplation with some one of the most ancient Fathers there, who converted him to dispise the vain glorie of this world, *and there they gave unto him shirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after.*

Shirts of hair.

The Lords assigned that my Lord should have 1000. Markes pension out of *Wincheſter* for his going down into the North, which when the King heard of, he commanded it should be forthwith paid unto Master *Cromwel.* And the King commanded Master *Cromwel* to repair to him again when he had received the said sum, which accordingly he did: To whom his Majestie said, *Shew your Lord that I have sent him ten thousand pounds of my Benevolence, and tell him he shall not lacke; bid him be of good comfort.* Master *Cromwel,* on my Lords behalf thanked the King for his royal liberalitie towards my Lord, and with that departed to *Richmond*, to whom he delivered the mony and the joyful tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoice, forthwith there was a preparation made for his going, he had with him in his train one hundred and sixty persons, having with him twelve Carts to carry his goods which he sent from his Colledge at *Oxford*, besides other Carts of his daily carriage of his necessaries for his buildings

A thousand Mark Pension to the Cardinal.

The King sent him 10000 l.

The Cardinal goeth to his Bishodwrick of *York.*

At *Peterborough* he did waſh 59 poor mens feet.

buildings, he kept his ſolemn feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Peterborrough*, and upon *Palm-Sunday*, he bare his palm and went on Proceſſion with the Monks, and upon Thurſday he made his Mandy, having 59 poor people whoſe feet he waſhed and kiſſed, and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve pence and three ells of good Canvas to make them ſhirts, and each of them a pair of new ſhooes and a cask of Red-herring: on *Eaſter-day* he roſe to the Reſurrection, and that day he went in Proceſſion in his Cardinals Veſtments, and having his Hat on his head, and ſung the high Maſs there himſelf ſolemnly, after his Maſs he gave his Benediction to all the hearers with clean remiſſion. From *Peterborough* he took his journey into the North, but made ſome ſtay by the way, and many paſſages hapned in his journey too tedious here to relate. At the laſt he came to *Stoby* where he continued till after *Michaelmas*, exerciſing many deeds of charity, moſt commonly every Sunday, if the weather ſerved, would he goe to ſome poor Pariſh-Church thereabouts, and there would ſay the Divine Service, and either ſaid or heard Maſs, and then cauſed one of his Chaplains to preach the Word of God to the people, and afterwards he would dine in ſome honeſt houſe in the Town, where ſhould be diſtributed to the poor, alms as well of meat and drinke, as mony to

Charity to the poor.

to ſupply the want of meat and drink if the number of poor did exeeed: thus with other good deeds practiſing himſelf during the time of his abode there between party and party, being at variance: About *Michaelmas* after he removed from thence to *Caywood-Caſtle* within ſeven miles of the City of *Yorke*, where we had much honour and love from all men high and low, where he kept a plentiful houſe for all commers, alſo he builded and repaired the Caſtle which was much decaied, having at the leaſt three hundred perſons daily in work to whom he paid wages lying there: Where all the Doctors and Prebends of the Church of *York* did repair to my Lord according to their duties, as unto the chief Head, Patron, and Father of their Spiritual dignities, who did joyfully welcome him into thoſe parts, ſaying it was no ſmall comfort unto them to ſee their Head among them, who had been ſo long abſent from them being like to fatherleſs and comfortleſs Children for want of his preſence; and that they truſted ſhortly to ſee him amongſt them in his own Church. To whom he made anſwer, that it was the moſt eſpecial cauſe of his coming, to be amongſt them as a Father, and a natural brother.

Sir, quoth they, you muſt underſtand the Ordinances and rules of our Church, whereof, although you be the Head and ſole Governour, yet you are not ſo well acquainted

as

as we be therein: Therefore, if it pleaſe your Grace, we ſhall (under favour) open unto you ſome part of our ancient Laws and cuſtoms of our Church, that our head Prelate and Paſtor as you now are, might not come above our Quire door, untill by due Order he be inſtalled. Nor if you ſhould happen to die before your inſtallation, you ſhould not be buried above in the Quire, but below in the neither part of the body of the Church. Therefore we humbly deſire and beſeech you, in the name of all our brethren, that you would vouchſafe to do therein, as our ancient Fathers your Predeceſſors have done, and that you would not break the laudable cuſtoms of our Church; To the which we are obliged by Oath at our firſt admittance to obſerve that, and divers others, which in our Chapter doth remain upon Record.

Order in the Cathedral at *York*.

Theſe Records (quoth my Lord) would I fain ſee, and then ſhall you know further of mine advice and mind in this buſineſs.

A day was ſigned to bring their Records to my Lord, at which time they reſorted to my Lord with their Regiſter and Books of Records, wherein were fairly written their Inſtitutions and Rules, which every Miniſter of their Church was moſt principally and chiefly bound to obſerve and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the Records, he did intend to be at the Cathedral Church of

Yorke

Yorke the next Munday after *Alhallantide*, againſt which time due preparation was made for the ſame; but not in ſo ſumptious a wiſe as were his predeceſſors before him: Nor yet in ſuch ſort as the fame and common report was afterwards made of him, to his great ſlander. And to the falſe Reporters no ſmall diſhonefty to become a divulger of ſuch notorious lies I am ſure they did: For I my ſelf was ſent by my Lord to *Yorke*, to ſee that all things there ſhould be ordered and provided for that Solemnity, in a very decent form to the honour of that ancient and worthy Monaſtery of *Yorke*.

Preparation for the Cardinals inſtallment at *York*.

It came to paſs that upon Alhallond-day, one of the head and principal Officers of the ſaid Cathedral Church, which ſhould have had moſt doing at my Lords Inſtallation, was with my Lord at *Caywood*, and ſitting at dinner, they fell into communication of this matter, and the order and ceremony thereof: He ſaying that my Lord Cardinal ſhould goe a foot from a Chappel which ſtands without the Gates of the City called St. *James* his Chappel, unto the Miniſter upon cloath, which ſhould be diſtributed to the poor after his ſaid paſſage to the Church. Which my Lord hearing, replied and ſaid, although perhaps our Predeceſſors have gone upon cloath, yet we intend to goe on foot without any ſuch pompe or glory in the vamps of our hoſen. And

therefore gave order to his Servants to goe as humbly thither as might be without any sumptuous apparrel; for I intend on Sunday to come to you to be installed, and to make but one Dinner for you at the close, and the next day to dine with the Major, and so return again thither.

Store of good provision sent in by the Countrey.

The day being not unknown to all the country, the Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors, such Provision sent in, that it was almost incredible for store and varietie.

The common people held my Lord in great estimation for his purity, and liberality, and also for his familiar gesture and good behaviour amongst them. By means whereof he gained much love of all the people in the North parts of *England*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Cardinals fall, and how he was arrested of High Treason.

WHat chanced before his last troubles at *Caywood* is a sign or token from God of that which should follow, I will now, God willing declare; my Lords enemies being then at the Court about the King in good estimation, and honourable dignities; seeing now my Lord in great favour, and fearing the King would now call him home again, they therefore did plot amongst themselves

ſelves to diſpatch him by means of ſome ſiniſter Treaſon, or to bring him into the Kings great indignation by ſome other means.

This was their daily ſtudie and conſultation, having for their eſpecial help and furtherance as many vigilant attendants upon him, as the Poets fain *Argus* had eies.

The King with theſe their continual complaints, was moved to much indignation, and thought it good that the Cardinal ſhould come up, and to ſtand to his tryal in his own perſon; which his enemies did not like of. Notwithſtanding he was ſent for, and after this ſort.

Firſt, they deviſed that Sir *Walter Welch* Knight, one of the Kings Privie Chamber ſhould be ſent down with a Commiſſion into the North, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was ſometimes brought up in the Houſe of my Lord, being joined in Commiſſion with him, ſhould arreſt my Lord of High Treaſon. This being reſolved upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepared for his journy, with his Commiſſion and certain inſtruments annexed to the ſame, and took horſe at the Court-gate, upon *All-hallow-day*, towards my Lord of *Northumberland*.

Now will I declare what I promiſed before of a certain ſinge or token of my Lords trouble enſuing.

Upon *All-hallow-day* my Lord ſitting at dinner, having at his Boards end divers of his Chaplains to bear him company for want of other Gueſts; you ſhall now underſtand that my Lords great Croſs which ſtood by fell, and in the fall broke Doctors *Bonners* head, inaſmuch that ſome blood ran down. My Lord perceiving the fall thereof, demanded of thoſe that ſtood by him what was the matter that they ſtood ſo amazed, I ſhewed him of the fall of his great croſs upon Dr. *Bonners* head: Quoth my Lord hath it drawn any blood? yea quoth I, with that he caſt his head aſide and ſoberly ſaid (*Malum Omen*) and thereupon ſuddenly ſaid grace, and roſe from table and went to his Bed-chamber, but what he did there I cannot tell. Now mark how my Lord expounded the meaning thereof (in his fancie) to me at *Pontefract* after his fall. Firſt that the great Croſs that he bare as Arch Biſhop of *York* betokened himſelf, and Doctor *Auſtine* the Phyſitian who overthrew the Croſs, was he that accuſed my Lord, whereby his enemies caught an occaſion to overthrow him, it fell on Doctor *Bonners* head, who was then Maſter of my Lords faculties, and ſpiritual juriſdiction, who was

The Cardinals Croſs in the fall brake Dr. *Bonners* head.

was then dampnified by the fall thereof, and moreover the drawing of blood betokeneth death, which did ſuddenly after follow.

Now the appointed time drew near for Inſtallation and ſitting at dinner; the Friday before the Monday that he ſhould have been inſtalled at *York*: The Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Welch*, with a great company of Gent. of the Earls Houſe, and of the Country whom they had gathered in the Kings name, to accompany them, (yet not knowing to what end) came to the Hall of *Caywood* (the Officers being at dinner) and my Lord not fully dined, nor knowing any thing of the Earls being come.

The Earl of *Northumberland* and Maſter *Welch* come to *Caywood*-hall.

The firſt thing that the Earl did, after he had ſet the Hall in order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the keys of the Gates to him, which he would in no wiſe doe, although he was threatned and commanded in the Kings name to make deliverance thereof to one of the Earls ſervants, which he ſtill refuſed, ſaying to the Earl, that the keyes were delivered to him by his Lord and Maſter, both by oath and other command.

Now ſome of the Gent. that ſtood by the Earl hearing the Porter ſpeak ſo ſtoutly, ſaid, he is a good fellow and a faithful ſervant to his Maſter, and ſpeaks like an honeſt man, therefore give him your charge and

let him keep the keys ſtill; then ſaid my Lord, thou ſhalt well and truly keep the keys to the uſe of our Soveraign Lord the King, and you ſhall let none paſs in nor out of the Gates, but ſuch as from time time you ſhall be commanded by us, being the Kings Commiſſioners during our ſtay here, and with that Oath he received the keys of the Earl, at Maſter *Welches* hands; but of all theſe doings knew my Lord nothing, for they had ſtopped the ſtairs that none ſhould goe to my Lords chamber, and they that came down could not goe up again. At the length one eſcaped up and ſhewed my Lord that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall, whereat my Lord wondred, and at the firſt believed him not, till he heard it confirmed by another: Then quoth my Lord, I am ſorry we have dined, for I fear our Officers have not provided fiſh enough for the entertainment of him, with ſome honourable cheer fitting his eſtate and Dignity; But with that my Lord aroſe from the Table and commanded to let the cloath lie that the Earl might ſee how farre forth they were at their dinners, and as he was going down the ſtairs he encountred with my Lord of *Northumberland*, to whom my Lord ſaid, you are heartily welcome my Lord, and ſo they embraced each other: Then quoth my Lord Cardinal, if you had loved me, you would have ſent me word before of your comming, that I might

The Cardinal and the Earl meet.

might have entertained you according to your honour. Notwithstanding you shall have such cheer as I can make you for the present with a right good will, trusting you will accept thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to see you oftner when I shall be more able to entertain you: this said, my Lord took him by the hand and led him to his Chamber, whom followed all the Earls servants, and they being there all alone, saving I which kept the door as my Office required, being *Gentleman-Usher*, these two Lords standing at a window, the Earl trembling said, I arrest you of high Treason; with which words, my Lord was well nigh astonished, standing still a good space without speaking one word.

The Earl doth arrest the Cardinal.

But at the last, quoth my Lord, what authority have you to arrest me? quoth the Earl, I have a Commission so to doe: shew it me, quoth my Lord, that I may see the contents thereof: nay Sir, that you may not, quoth the Earl. Then, quoth my Lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your Arrest, for there hath been between your Ancestors and my Predecessors great contentions and debate, therefore unless I see your authority I will not obey you.

Even as they were debating the matter in the Chamber, so likewise was Mr. *Welch* busie in arresting Dr. *Austine* at the door, saying, goe in thou Traytor, or I shall make thee: with that I opened the Portal

Master *Welch* arrests Doctor *Austine* of high Treason.

door, and I did thruſt in Doctor *Auſtine* before him with violence. The matter on both ſides aſtoniſhed me very much, marvailing what all this ſhould mean, untill at the laſt Maſter *Welſh* being entred my Lords Chamber, began to pluck off his hood being of the ſame cloth his Cloak was, which hood he wore to the intent he ſhould not be known, who kneeled down to my Lord; to whom my Lord ſaid come hither Gentleman and let me ſpeak with you, commanding him to ſtand up, and ſaid thus, My Lord of *Northumberland* hath arreſted me, but by what authority I know not, if you be privy thereunto, joined with him therein, I pray you ſhew me. Indeed my Lord, if it pleaſe your Grace, quoth Maſter *Welch*, I pray have me excuſed; there is annexed to our Commiſſion certain inſtructions, as you may not ſee nor be privy too: why, quoth my Lord, be your Inſtructions ſuch as I may not ſee nor be privy thereunto, yet peradventure if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform them, for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of Counſel in as weighty matters as theſe are, and I doubt not, but I ſhall doe well enough, for my part, prove my ſelf a true man againſt the expectation of my cruel enemies, I ſee the matter whereupon it groweth well there is no more to doe I trow, you are of the Privy Chamber, your name is Maſter *Welſh*, I am contented to yeeld to you

you, but not to the Earl, without I ſee his Commiſſion, and alſo you are a ſufficient Commiſſioner in this behalf, being one of the Privie Chamber: Therefore put your Commiſſion in execution, ſpare me not, I will obey you and the King, for I fear not the cruelтie of mine Enemies, no more than I do the truth of my Allegiance, wherein I take God to witneſs, I never offended his Majeſtie in word or deed, and therein I dare ſtand face to face with any, having a difference without partialitie.

Then came my Lord of *Northumberland*, and commanded me to avoid the Chamber: And being loath to depart from my Maſter, I ſtood ſtill and would not remove, to whom he ſpake again and ſaid, there is no remedie, you muſt depart, with that I looked upon my Maſter, as who would have ſaid, ſhall I go, and perceiving by his countenance that it was not for me to ſtay, I departed and went into another Chamber, where were many Gentlemen and others to hear news, to whom I made a report of what I heard and ſaw, which was great heavineſs to them all.

Then the Earl called into his Chamber divers of his own ſervants, and after he and Maſter *Welch* had taken the Keys from my Lord, he committed the keeping of my Lord unto five Gentlemen, and then they went abour the Houſe, and put all things in order, intending to depart the next day, and to cer-

The Earl takes the Keys from my Lord.

tifie

tifie the King and the reſt of the Lords, what they had done.

Then went they buſie about to convey Doctor *Auſtine* away to *London*, with as much ſpeed and privacie as they could poſſible, ſending with him divers perſons to conduct him, who was bound to his Horſe like a Traytor.

And this being done, when it was neer night, the Commiſſioners ſending two Grooms of my Lords to attend him to his Chamber (where he lay all night) the reſt of the Earls men watched in the Chamber, and all the Houſe was watched, and the Gates ſafe kept, that no man could paſs or repaſs until the next morning.

About eight of the clock next morning, the Earl ſent for me into his Chamber, and commanded me to go to my Lord; and as I was going, I met with Maſter *Welch*, who called me unto him, and ſhewed me how the Kings Majeſtie bare unto me his principal favour for my love and diligent ſervice that I had performed to my Lord: wherefore, quoth he, the Kings pleaſure is, that you ſhall be about him as chief, in whom his Highneſs putteth great confidence and truſt; and thereupon gave me in writing the Articles: Which when I had read, I ſaid, I was content to obey his Majeſties pleaſure, and would be ſworn to the performance thereof; whereupon he gave me my Oath,

That

That done, I resorted to my Lord, whom I found sitting in a chair, the Table being readie spread for him. But so soon as he perceived me come in, he fell into such a woful lamentation, that would have forced a flinty-heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not; for, quoth he, I am much grieved that I have nothing to reward you, and the rest of my true and faithful Servants, for all the good service that they and you have done me; for which I do much lament.

Upon Sunday following, the Earl and Master *Welch* appointed to set forward, for my Lords Horse and ours was brought ready into the inner Court, where we mounted, and coming towards the Gate ready to ride out, the Porter had no sooner opened the same, but we saw without ready attending a great number of Gentlemen and their Servants, such as the Earl had appointed for that service to attend and conduct my Lord to *Pomfrait* that night.

But to tell you the Truth, there were also many of the the people of the Countrie assembled at the Gate, lamenting his departure, in number above three Thousand, who after the opening of the Gate that they had a sight of him, cryed out with a loud voice, *God save your Grace, God save your Grace*; the foul Evil take them that have taken you from us; we pray God that vengeance may light

light upon them. And thus they ran after him through the Town of *Caywood*, for he was there very well beloved both of rich and poor.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cardinals Entertainment at the Earl of Shrewsburies, *and of his death and burial at* Leiceſter.

AFter our departure from *Caywood*, we came to *Doncaſter*, the third day we came to *Sheffield-Park*, where my Lord of *Shrewsbury* lived within the *Lodge*, and the Earl and his Lady, and a great companie of Gentlewomen and Servants ſtood without the Gate to attend my Lords coming; at whoſe alighting the Earl received him with much honour, and imbracing him, ſaying theſe words; *My Lord you are moſt heartily welcome to my poor Lodge, and I am glad to ſee you.*

Here my Lord ſtayed a fortnight, and was moſt noblie entertained; he ſpent moſt of his time and applied his mind to Prayers continually in great devotion. It came to paſs as he ſate one day at dinner, I being there, perceived his colour divers times to change; I asked him if he was not well; who anſwered me with a loud voice: I am ſuddenly taken with a thing at my ſtomach as

as cold as a Whet-ſtone, and am not well: Therefore take up the Table, and make a ſhort Dinner, and return to me again ſuddenly. I made but a little ſtay, but came to him again, where I found him ſtill ſitting very ill at eaſe: He deſired me to go to the Apothecarie, and ask him, if he had any thing would break wind upwards: He told me he had; then I went and ſhewed the ſame to my Lord, who did command me to give him ſome thereof, and ſo I did, and it made him break wind exceedingly: Loe, quoth he, you may ſee it was but wind, for now I thank God I am well eaſed, and ſo aroſe from the Table and went to Prayers, as he uſed every day after dinner.

In the afternoon my Lord of *Shrewsbury* ſent for me to him, to whom he ſaid, *For as much as I have alwayes perceived you to be a man in whom my Lord putteth great affiance, and I my ſelf knowing you to be a man very honeſt, with many words of commendations and praiſe more then becometh me to rehearſe; he ſaid, your Lord and Maſter hath often deſired me to write unto the King that he might anſwer his Accuſations before his Enemies: And this day I have received Letters from his Majeſtie by Sir* William Kingſton, *whereby I perceive that the King hath him in good opinion, and upon my requeſt hath ſent for him by the ſaid Sir* William Kingſton.

Therefore now I would have you play your part

part Wisely with him, in such sort as he may take it quietly and in good part, for he is alwayes full of sorrow and much heavinesse at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill if I bring him tidings thereof: And therein doth he not well; for I assure you that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me most hearty thanks for his entertainment: And therefore go your way to him, and perswade him I may find him in quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you.

Sir, quoth I, and if it please your Lordship I shall endeavour to the best of my power, to accomplish your Lordships command: But Sir, I doubt when I name this Sir *William Kingston*, that he will mistrust some ill, because he is Constable of the *Tower*, and Captain of the Guard, having in his company 24. of the Guard to accompany him: That is nothing, quoth the Earl, what if he be Constable of the *Tower* and Captain of the Guard? he is the fittest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about such a business, and for the Guard it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any ill. Besides that, the Guard are for the most part such of his old servants as the King hath took into his service to attend him most justly. Well Sir, quoth I, I shall do what I can, and so departed and went to my Lord and found him in the Gallerie, with his Staffe and his

his Beads in his hands, and seeing me come, he asked me what news, forsooth quoth I, the best news that ever you heard, if you can take it well: I pray God it be true, then quoth he; my Lord of *Shrewshury*, said I, your most assured friend, hath so provided by his Letters to the King, that his Majestie hath sent for you by Master *Kingston*, and 24. of the Guard to conduct you to his Highness; Master *Kingston*, quoth he, and clapped his hand on his Thigh and gave a great sigh. The Cardinals causeless fears.

May it please your Grace (quoth I) I would you would take all things well, it would be much better for you, content your self for Gods sake, and think that God and your good friends have wrought for you, according to your own desires: And (as I conceive) you have much more cause to rejoice than lament or mistrust the matter, for I assure you that your friends are more afraid of you than you need be of them: And his Majestie to shew his Love to you, hath sent Master *Kingston* to honour you, with as much honour as is your Graces due, and to convey you in such easie journies as is fitting for you, and you shall command him to do, and that you shall have your request. And I humbly intreat you to imprint this my perswasion in your Highness discretion and to be of good cheer, wherewith you shall comfort your self, and give your friends Enemies.

and

and poor ſervants great comfort and content.

Well, quoth he, I perceive more than you can imagine, or do know; preſently after came my Lord to acquaint him with that I had ſo lately related, my Lord Cardinal thanked the Earl for his great love, and called for Maſter *Kingſton* who came to him preſently, and kneeling down before him ſaluted him in the Kings behalf, whom my Lord bare-headed offered to take up, but he would not; then, quoth my Lord, Maſter *Kingſton* I pray you ſtand up and leave your kneeling to me, for I am a wretch repleat with miſery, not eſteeming my ſelf, but as a meer object utterly caſt away, but without deſert God he knows, therefore good Mr. *Kingſton* ſtand up.

The Cardinal ſalutes Maſter *Kingſton*.

Then Maſter *Kingſton* ſaid, the Kings Majeſtie hath him commended unto you; I thank his Highneſs, quoth my Lord, I hope he is in good health. Yea, quoth Maſter *Kingſton*, and he hath him commended unto you, and commanded me to bid you be of good cheer, for he beareth you as much good will as ever he did.

Mr. *Kingſton* tells him he is in the Kings favour.

And whereas Report hath been made unto him, that you ſhould commit againſt his Majeſtie certain heinous crimes which he thinketh to be, but yet he for miniſtration of Juſtice in ſuch Caſes requiſite, could do no leſs than ſend for you that you might

might have your tryal, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit your self of all complaints and accusations extended against you: and you may take your journey to him at your pleasure, commanding me to attend you.

Master *Kingston*, quoth my Lord, I thank you for your good news: And Sir hereof assure your self, if I were as able and lustie as ever I was to ride, I would go with you post: but alas I am a diseased man, having a flux (at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself) it hath made me very weak, but the comfortable news you bring is of purpose (I doubt) to bring me into a fools Paradise, for I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding I thank you for your good will, and pains taken about me, and I shall with speed make readie to ride with you.

After this I was commanded to make all things readie for our departure the morrow after.

When my Lord went to bed, he fell very sick of the Lask, which caused him to go to stool from time to time all that night, insomuch that from that time till morning, he had 50. stools: And the matter that he voided was very black, which the Physitians called *Adustine*, whose opinions were that he had not above four or five daies to live. The Cardinal near death.

Notwithſtanding, he would have ridden with Mr. *Kingſton* the next day, had not the Earl of *Shrewsbury* adviſed him to the contrary, but the next day he took his journey with Maſter *Kingſton*, and them of the Guard, who eſpying him could not abſtain from weeping, conſidering he was their old Maſter, and now in ſuch a miſerable caſe, whom my Lord took by the hand, and would as he rode by the way ſometimes talk with one, and ſometimes with another, till he came to a houſe of my Lords ſtanding in the way called *Hardwick-Hall*, where he lay all that night very ill at eaſe, the next day he came to *Nottingham*, and the next day to *Leiceſter* Abbey, and the next day he waxed very ſick, that he had almoſt fallen from his Horſe, ſo that it was night ere he got to *Leiceſter* Abbey, where at his coming in at the gates, the Abbot with all their Covent met him with many lighted Torches, whom they honorably received and welcomed with great reverence.

To whom my Lord ſaid, Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones amongſt you, riding ſtill on his Mule till he came to the ſtairs of his Chamber where he alighted: Maſter *Kingſton* holding him by the arm led him up ſtairs, who told me afterwards that he never felt ſo heavy a burthen in all his life, and as ſoon as he was in his Chamber he went ſtraight to bed, this was upon Saturday, and ſo he continued.

On

On Munday in the morning, as I ſtood by his Beds ſide about eight of the clock in the morning the windows being cloſe ſhut, and having Wax lights burning upon the Cupboard; I thought I perceived him drawing on towards death. He perceiving my ſhadow upon the Beds ſide, asked who was there. Sir, quoth I, it is I, how do you, quoth he? well Sir, quoth I, if I might ſee your Grace well; What is it a clock, quoth he? I anſwered, it was about eight of the clock; quoth he, that cannot be, rehearſing eight of the clock ſo many times. Nay, quoth he, that cannot be, for at eight of the clock you ſhall ſee your Maſters time draw neer that I muſt depart this world: with that, quoth Doctor *Palmes* a worthy Gentleman ſtanding by, bid me ask him if he would be ſhriven to make him ready for God, what ever chanced to fall out, which I did: but he was very angry with me, and asked what I had to do to ask him ſuch a queſtion? till at the laſt, Maſter Doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latine and pacified him.

After dinner Maſter *Kingſton* ſent for me and ſaid, Sir, The King hath ſent unto me Letters by Maſter *Vincent* our old companion, who hath been in trouble in the *Tower* for money that my Lord ſhould have at his departure: A great part of which money cannot be found, wherefore the

King at Maſter *Vincents* requeſt for the declaration of the truth, hath ſent him hither with his Graces Letter, that I ſhould examine my Lord and have your Counſel therein, that he may take it well and in good part. And this is the cauſe of my ſending for you, therefore I deſire your Counſel therein for acquittal of this poor Gentleman Maſter *Vincent*.

Sir, quoth I, according to my dutie you ſhall, and by my adviſe you ſhall reſort unto him in your own perſon to viſit him, and in communication break the matter unto him: And if he will not tell you the truth therein, then may you certifie the King thereof; But in any caſe name not nor ſpeak of my fellow *Vincent*: Alſo I would not have you detract the time, for he is very ſick, and I fear that he will not live paſt a day or two, and accordingly Maſter *Kingſton* went to my Lord and demanded the money, ſaying that my Lord of *Northumberland* found a Book at *Caywood-Houſe* that you had lately borrowed 10000. pounds, and there is not ſo much as one penny to be found, who hath made the King privie to the ſame, wherefore the King hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were pittie that it ſhould be holden from you both. Therefore I I require you in the Kings Name to tell me the truth, that I may make a juſt report thereof unto his Majeſtie of your anſwer.

With

With that, quoth my Lord, oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the King ſhould think any ſuch thing in me, that I ſhould deceive him of one penny, ſeeing I have nothing nor never had (God be my Judge) that I ever eſteemed ſo much my own as his Majeſties, having but the bare uſe of it during my life, and after my death to leave it wholly to him; wherein his Majeſtie hath prevented me. But for this money that you demand of me, I aſſure you it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to beſtow amongſt my ſervants, who have taken great pains about me, notwithſtanding if it be your pleaſure to know, I muſt be content, yet I beſeech his Majeſtie to ſee it ſatisfied for the diſcharge of my Conſcience to them that I owed it to: who be they, quoth Maſter *Kingſton?* That ſhall I tell you, quoth my Lord, I borrowed 200. pounds of *John Allen* of *London*, another 200. pound of Sir *Richard Greſham*, and 200. pound of the Maſter of the *Savoy*, and alſo 200. pound of Doctor *Highden* Dean of my Colledge at *Oxford*, 200. pound of the Treaſurer of the Church, and 200. pound of Mr. *Ellis* my Chaplain: and another 200. pound of a Prieſt, I hope the King will reſtore it again, for as much as it is none of mine.

Divers ſums of money borrowed by the Cardinal a little before he dyed.

Sir, quoth Master *Kingston*, there is no doubt in the King whom you need not distrust, but Sir, I pray you where is the mony; quoth he, I will not conceal it I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I die by the grace of God, have a little patience with me I pray you, for the mony is safe enough in an honest mans hands, who will not keep one pennie thereof from the King.

So Master *Kingston* departed for that time, my Lord being very weak, and about four of the clock in the next morning, as I conceived, I asked him how he did; well, quoth he, if I had any meat, I pray you give me some.

Sir, quoth I, there is none readie; then he said, (you are much too blame) for you should have alwaies meat for me in a readiness, whensoever that my stomach serves me, I pray you get some readie for me, for I mean to make my self strong to day to the intent I may go to Confession and make me readie for God: quoth I, I will call up the Cooks to prepare some meat, and also I will call Mr. *Palmer* that he may discourse with you till your meat be readie: with a good will, quoth my Lord; and so I called Master *Palmer*, who rose and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted Master *Kingston* that my Lord was very sick, and not like to live. In good faith, quoth Master

ſter *Kingſton*, you are much to blame to make him believe he is ſicker than he is. Well Sir, quoth I, you cannot but ſay, I gave you warning as I am bound to do; upon which words he aroſe and came unto him, but before he came my Lord Cardinal had eaten a ſpoonful or two of Callis made of Chicken, and after that, he was in his Confeſſion the ſpace of an hour: And then Maſter *Kingſton* came to him and bid him good morrow, and asked him how he did. Sir, quoth he, I watch but Gods pleaſure to render up my poor ſoul to him. I pray you have me heartilie commended unto his Royal Majeſtie, and beſeech him on my behalf to call to his Princelie remembrance all matters that have been between us from the beginning and the progreſs: And eſpecially between good Queen *Katherine* and him, and then ſhall his Graces Conſcience know whether I have offended him or not.

He is a Prince of a moſt Royal carriage, and hath a Princelie heart, and rather than he will miſs or want any part of his Will, he will endanger the one half of his Kingdom.

I do aſſure you I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three hours together to perſwade him from his Will and Appetite, but could not prevail: And Maſter *Kingſton*, had I but ſerved God as diligentlie as I have ſerved the King, he would

not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and studie, not regarding my service to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the Privie Council; as by your wisedom you are fit, take heed what you put in the Kings head, for you can never put it out again.

The Cardinals advice.

And I desire you further to request his Grace in Gods Name, that he have a vigilant eie to suppress the hellish *Lutherans*, that they increase not through his great negligence, in such a sort as he be compelled to take up Arms to subdue them, as the King of *Bohemia* was; whose Commons being infected with *Wickliffs* Heresies, the King was inforced to take that course.

Let him consider the Storie of King *Richard* the Second, the second Son of his Progenitor, who lived in the time of *Wickcliffs* Seditions and Heresies: Did not the Commons, I pray you, in his time rise against the Nobilitie and chief Governors of this Realm, and at the last some of them were put to death without Justice or mercie, and under pretence of having all things common, did they not fall to spoiling and robbing, and at last took the Kings Person, and carried him about the City, making him obedient to their Proclamations?

Did

Did not also the Trayterous Heretique Sir *John Old Castle*, Lord *Cobham*, pitch a field with Heretiques against King *Henry* the fourth, where the King was in Person and fought against them, to whom God gave the victorie?

Alas, if these be not plain presidents, and sufficient perswasions to admonish a Prince: Then God will take away from us our prudent Rulers, and leave us to the hands of our Enemies. And then will ensue mischief upon mischief, inconveniences, barrenness and scarcitie for want of good orders in the Common-wealth, from which God of his tender mercy defend us.

Master *Kingston* farewell, I wish all things may have good success, my time drawes on, I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my words.

Now began the time to draw neer, for he drew his speech at length, and his tongue began to fail him, his eyes perfectly set in his head, his sight failed him. Then we began to put him in mind of Christs Passion, and caused the Yeoman of the Guard to stand by privately to see him die, and bear witness of his words and his departure, who heard all his communications.

And then presently the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the Ghost, and departed he this life, one of us looking upon another, supposing he prophesied of his departure. The Cardinal gave up the Ghost.

We

We sent for the Abbot of the House to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his life, who said certain Prayers before that the life was out of his body.

Here is the end and fall of Pride, for I assure you he was in his time the proudest man alive, having more regard to the honor of his Person, than to his spiritual Function, wherein he should have expressed more meekness and humility: For Pride and Ambition are both linked together; and Ambition is like Choller, which is an humor that makes men active, earnest, and full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped or hindred in its course: But if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venemous. So ambitious and proud men, if they find the way open for their rising and advancement, and still get forwards; they are rather busie than dangerous: But if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backwards: but I forbear to speak any further herein.

The Cardinal being departed, Master *Kingston* sent Post to *London* one of the Guard, then was Master *Kingston* and the Abbot in consultation about the Funeral, which was solemnized the day after, for Master *Kingston* would not stay the return of the Post.

They

They thought good that the Maior of *Leicester* and his Brethren ſhould ſee him perſonally dead, to prevent falſe reports that he was alive. And in the interim, whilſt the Maior was ſent for, his bones were laid in a Coffin, and his ſhirt of hair, and his over ſhirt of fine Holland were taken off and were put into the Coffin together, with all ſuch ornaments wherewith he was inveſted when he was made Archbiſhop, as Myter, Croſs, Ring and Pall, and all other things due to his Orders.

Thus he lay all that day with his Coffin open and bare-faced, that all that deſired might ſee him. And about three of the clock he was buried of the Abbot with great ſolemnitie. And being in the Church, his Corps were ſet in the *Ladies* Chappel with many Tapers, and poor men about him holding the Torches in their hands, who watched the Corps all that night, whilſt the Canons ſung divers Dirges and other divine Oriſons.

The Cardinal is buried in St. *Maries* Chappel in *Leiceſter*.

And at four of the clock the next morning, the Cardinals ſervants and Maſter *Kingſton* came to the Church to the execution of many Ceremonies in ſuch manner as is uſual at Biſhops burials: And ſo he went to Maſs, where the Abbot did offer, and divers others: And then went to burie the Corps in the middle of the ſaid Chappel; by this time it was ſix of the clock, being St. *Andrews* day.

Then

Then we prepared for our journey to the Court, where we attended his Majestie, the next day I was sent for to the King, conducted by Master *Norris*, where the King was in his night Gown of Rochet Velvet furred with Sables, before whom I kneeled the space of an hour, during which time his Majestie examined me of divers particulars concerning my Lord Cardinal, wishing rather than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived.

He asked me concerning the fifteen hundred pounds which Master *Kingston* moved to my Lord: Quoth I, I think I can perfectly tell your Grace where it is, and who hath it; can you, quoth the King, I pray tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded.

Sir, quoth I, after the departure of Master *Vincent* from my Lord at *Scrooby*, who had the custody thereof, leaving it with my Lord in divers Bags, he delivered it to a certain Priest safely to be kept to his use. Is this true, quoth the King? yea, quoth I, without doubt, the Priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich Ornaments, which are not Registred in the book of my Lords Inventory or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith but my self.

Then said the King, let me alone for keeping this secret between me and you; Howbeit three may keep counsel if two be away: And

And if I knew my Cap were privie to my Counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it: And for your honesty and truth, you shall be our servant in our Chamber, as you were with your Master.

Therefore go your wayes to Sir *John Gage* our Vice-Chamberlain; to whom we have spoken already, to admit you our Servant in our Chamber, and then go to the Lord of *Norfolk*, and he shall pay you your whole years wages, which is ten pounds; Is it not so, quoth the King? Yes forsooth, and if it please your Grace, qnoth I: And withal said the King, you shall receive a reward of the Duke of *Norfolk*. So I received ten pounds of the Duke for my wages, and twenty pounds for my reward, and his Majestie gave me a Cart and six Horses, the best that I could chuse out of my Lords Horses to carry my goods, and five marks for my charge homewards.

FINIS.

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